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BLAME SOVIET RULE

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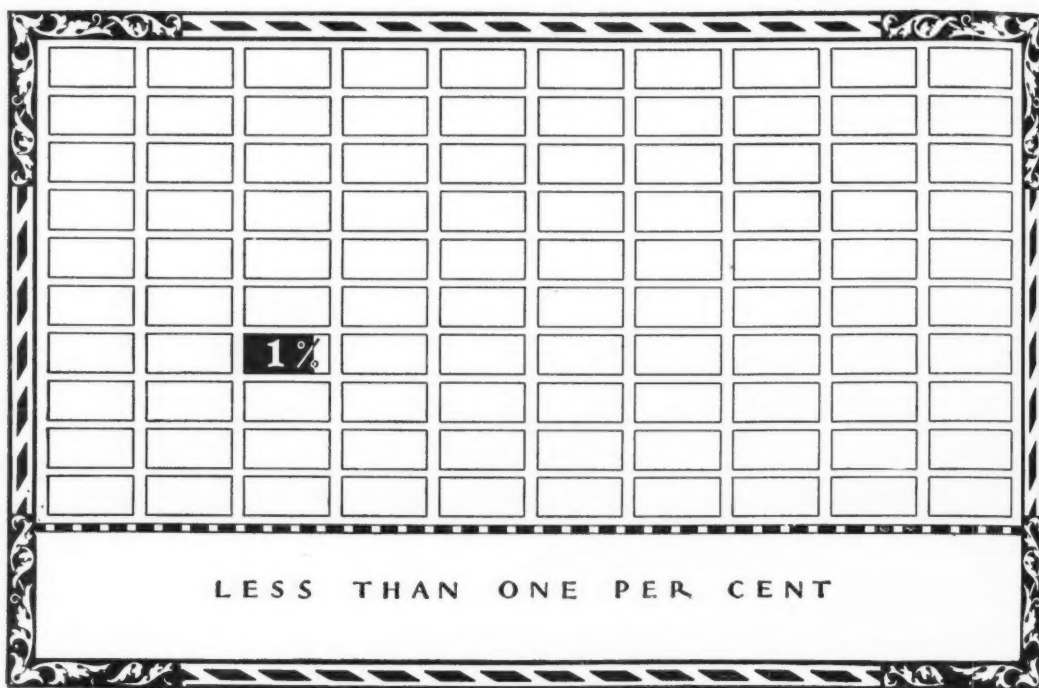


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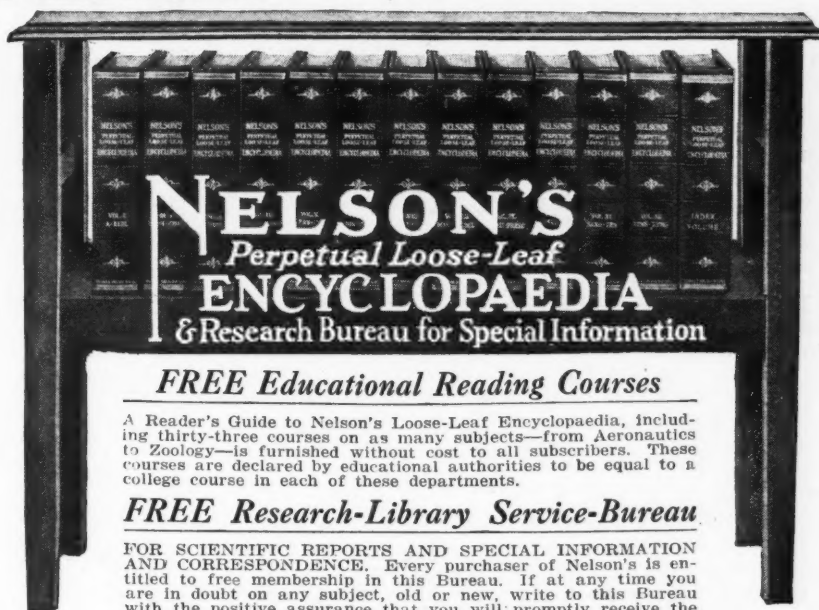
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# CURRENT HISTORY

## BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. XXVII\*

November, 1927

Number 2

### American History for English Readers

By DAVID S. MUZZEY

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

READERS of Professor Morison's charming *Maritime History of Massachusetts* and *Life of Harrison Grey Otis* will open his latest volumes\* with the pleasurable anticipation of finding a rare combination of scholarship and literary skill. Nor will they be disappointed in this anticipation. For Professor Morison brings to the oft-repeated story of our country's development a refreshing originality of interpretation and a vividness of description which hold the reader's unflagging interest to the last page.

Nevertheless, the volumes are disappointing from the point of view of structure. It is, of course, the privilege of the writer of history, as of the landscape painter, to select the subject of his canvas from the infinite variety of choice that nature and the vicissitudes of human affairs furnish. But the picture is marred if unduly emphasized "masses" disturb the harmony within the *cadre*. Professor Morison chooses the date 1790 for the starting point (miscalled "the central point") of his narrative for the not very convincing reason that 1790 "was the year of the first Federal census, with the first accurate statistics of the United States"; and, though he goes back into the 1780's for a brief chapter on the Confederation and the Constitution, he does not finish his elaborate description of the last decade of the eighteenth century until he reaches page 225, half way through the first volume. The other half of the volume has to suffice for the hurried history of the period from the beginning of Jefferson's to the end of Jackson's Administration. The structure of the second volume is even more capricious. A detailed history of the Civil War, with the emphasis upon strategy and tactics, occupies 167 of the 474 pages, just short of 40 per cent. of the text. The volume ends with our declaration of war against the German Empire in April,

1917; but the material on the twentieth century is a mere summary of 50 pages—22 pages for Roosevelt's Administrations (as against 104 pages for Washington's in Volume I), 11 for Taft's (as against 23 for John Quincy Adams's), and a scant 15 pages for the weighty measures, foreign and domestic, of Woodrow Wilson's first term. This threadbare poverty of material on our history since the Spanish War is the more regrettable because the uniformly high quality of scholarship and style in the rest of the work makes us realize what we have missed here.

It is evident in almost every chapter that Professor Morison is writing primarily for English readers—as is fitting for a historian who went from Harvard to lecture in an English university. He cites British precedents and conditions, from constitutionality to climate, by way of illustration and comparison; and he dwells at length upon Anglo-American diplomacy and trade relations, especially in the period from Washington to Madison. The Monroe Doctrine is discussed less with reference to the Holy Alliance than as a chapter in Anglo-American relations. Canning figures more prominently than any American statesman in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the execution of the British subjects Ambrister and Arbuthnot is featured as the outstanding event of Andrew Jackson's career. Why, then, we are tempted to ask, could not the author have found room, in a work of nearly a thousand pages, for a discussion of that most important of all Anglo-American relations—the perennially absorbing American Revolution. He could have easily spared a hundred pages of the Civil War for it.

On occasions too numerous to mention in this brief review Professor Morison makes categorical statements which rouse a challenge in the reader's mind. For example, in his admirable account of the Jeffersonian period he says that a war with England in 1807 would

\**A History of the United States of America*. By S. E. Morison. Oxford University Press, 1927. Two volumes. Pp. 461, 504.

Continued on Page iv.



*Hundreds of words you use are almost  
the same in French, Spanish,  
Italian and German*

Here are over 50 from a page of a New York paper

reaction  
conservative  
tendency  
illustrate  
contraction  
theory  
absolute  
dictator  
political  
social  
ethical  
practical  
ignore

eminent  
national  
class  
energetic  
industrial  
interest  
organization  
department  
creature  
conflicate  
character  
person

demonstration  
brutal  
police  
capitalist  
administration  
inspection  
problem  
commissioner  
naturally  
liberal  
aspiration  
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element  
constellation  
conspire  
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historical  
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action  
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Continued from Page ii.

have been "far more popular and successful than the one finally declared in 1812" (I, 262). More popular, perhaps, with the country in a fever of indignation over the Chesapeake affair; but whether more successful against a nation flushed with the pride of Trafalgar and keyed to a heroic resistance to Napoleon's waxing power, we doubt. Recall John Randolph's sneer at Secretary Madison's "shilling pamphlet launched against 800 British men-of-war."

Again, in commenting on the Freeport Doctrine, Professor Morison says that "Douglas was right" in his contention that slavery could not exist for a day or an hour in a territory where it was not supported by local police regulation; and commends the "Little Giant" for the "very neat" reply to Lincoln by which "he deserved" his re-election to the United States Senate (II, 136). The real point at issue, however (which Douglas dodged), was not whether a black code was necessary for the support of slavery in a territory, but whether an anti-slavery Congress could invalidate such a code when passed, or a pro-slavery Supreme Court could annul a territorial white code. Professor Morison asserts in a footnote that "Congress could invalidate a positive enactment of the territorial legislature." What, then, becomes of Douglas's sophistical defense of squatter sovereignty which won him his "deserved" re-election? It was in flat contradiction of both the Dred Scott decision and the authority of Congress. Lincoln, not Douglas, "was right" at Freeport.

Though as severe as Rhodes on the shortcomings of McClellan in the Peninsular campaign, Professor Morison writes that the removal of the General from the command of the Army of the Potomac after Antietam was "the greatest mistake that Lincoln ever made" (II, 248). This statement is based on the author's opinion that McClellan was "then fast learning the art of offensive strategy" and on the indisputable fact of the disaster which the army met at Fredericksburg under McClellan's successor. But there is nothing in Professor Morison's own account of the movements of McClellan before the battle of Antietam, when his "over-careful reconnaissance gave Jackson time to cross the Potomac to join Lee" (II, 243), to indicate any very rapid advance in the art of offensive strategy; nor could President Lincoln (or General Hallock) be fairly expected to foresee that the reluctant Burnside would, three months later, so woefully overdo offensive strategy at the foot of Marye's Heights. Lincoln was forced to dismiss McClellan. He had stood by him, under the most trying circumstances, far longer than his colleagues and counselors ap-

proved. Indeed, it was due to Lincoln's insistence alone that McClellan was in command at Antietam. The criticism of judgments, however, is only the proffer of counter-judgments and the reviewer hastens to add that he finds himself in hearty accord with far more of Professor Morison's judgments than he questions.

More careful proofreading should have eliminated a rather distressingly large number of slips in the volumes—especially in the matter of dates. Most of the misprints are easily corrected by the reader's eye, but the mental embarrassment that even a single wrong letter can cause is illustrated by the caption "Pater Patrine" for the section on Washington's character (I, 103). The text is supplemented by an extensive bibliography, with comments (obviously provided for English readers) on the scope, nature and value of the volumes cited.

## A New Life of Paul Jones

By MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF  
HISTORY, HAMILTON COLLEGE

IT is very appropriate that just as the American Legion was setting sail for its reunion in Paris there should issue from the press a biography of the great seaman\*—neither French nor American—who commanded French and American sailors, marines and soldiers in the first martial alliance of the two nations. Further, John Paul Jones died and was buried in France, where an American diplomat discovered his remains; whence an American man-of-war, after ceremonies participated in by French and American soldiers, sailors, marines and civilians, brought the corpse to Annapolis—Annapolis whence Rochambeau sailed for France in 1783; where Washington and Lafayette were fêted in 1784. Like America since 1919, Jones had trouble collecting money due him in France; like Lindbergh he received foreign decorations which the law forbade him to wear.

Readers of Mr. Russell's *Benjamin Franklin: the First Civilized American* will not need to be told that this study of John Paul Jones belongs to the new school of biography which endeavors to reveal the actual man—the evil with the good—rather than to present a eulogy or a didactic narrative in chronological sequence. To this reviewer it seems that the

Continued on Page viii.

\**John Paul Jones: Man of Action.* By Phillips Russell. Drawings by Leon Underwood. New York: Brentano's. \$5.



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author has succeeded, even better than in his *Benjamin Franklin*, in making his subject a vivid human personality. Mr. Russell has not only used previous biographies and published writings of Jones, as well as the journals of the Continental Congress and similar sources, but he has also drawn upon the naval and diplomatic archives in America, France and Russia for material not accessible to earlier biographers. Though a bibliographical note is appended, the professional historian would prefer that the book were more fully documented, in order that the reader might for himself follow up some of the rich new lodes. The style is well exemplified in this brilliant characterization of the hero:

He never lost a battle, yielded in any naval contest, or failed in an errand; yet defeat, with light but repeated strokes, hacked his energy to pieces and eventually broke him down. \* \* \* Like most men who have a touch of what is called genius, he was consumed by a desire for the unattainable. The walls of his imagination were painted with the artist's dream of perfection. He was haunted by the chimera of a Great Squadron which, sailing in perfect line, he was one day to lead across glittering seas into the harbor of the Minotaur and gloriously sink him and his combined fleet. He was a compound of Tom Sawyer, Don Quixote, Alexander the Great and Sandy McPhairson.

Among the novelties in this life of the "Bayard afloat" are the revelation of the part played in Jones's life and fortunes by women; the influence of Masonry upon his career; the advantages derived from a short Thespian experience; the frank admission of Jones's vanity. Primarily this is a study of personality rather than a catalogue of events; and that personality, through its own words, by its own actions, by its reflection from contemporaries, is made to stand out in bold relief. The reader's admiration is tempered by depreciation of the human defects, which no attempt is made to gloss over, but he is never obliged to despise Jones. That complacent individual who styles himself "a hundred per cent. American patriot" will not approve of this book, for it reveals with merciless accuracy the human foibles of "the founders of the Republic," the ineptitude of many, the venality of some. To the serious student this but enhances the value of the work, for he accepts the injunction "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free"—free from foolish boasting, free from indiscriminating hero-worship, free from dangerous self-complacency, the reverse of true patriotism. The old-style textbook fashion of painting our national heroes as faultless paragons is clearly vicious, since it makes them so unlike us that we subconsciously realize that their example is of no use to us, as we errant mortals cannot possibly follow it. Mr. Russell has succeeded ad-

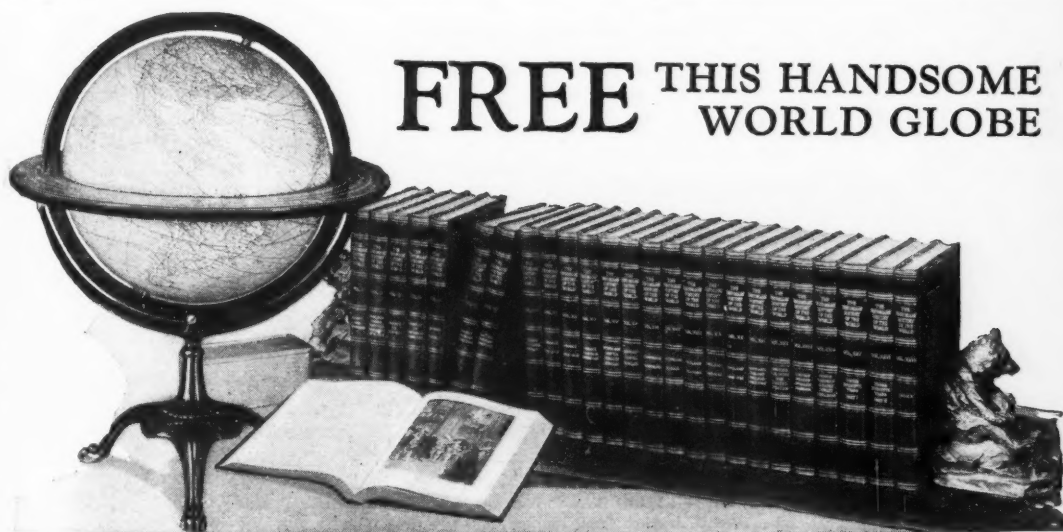
mirably in clearing Jones and his times of the mirage of romantic legend and letting genuine, average human beings speak for themselves—now wisely, now foolishly; sometimes nobly, sometimes ignobly, "even as you and I." One could hardly call so virile a writer a pacifist, but Mr. Russell assuredly takes the glamour and glory out of war, showing how it brings out many of the worst traits in humanity, and inevitably breeds profiteering, chicane, jealousy. This also should be accounted as righteousness to him, that without belittling his warrior he shows the folly of war as a method of settling international disputes.

After a vivid picture of Captain John Paul Jones, U. S. N., Mr. Russell reviews John Paul's ancestry and childhood. He retells the story of his taking to the sea, his early experiences in the merchant marine, his service on slave-ships, the disastrous disciplining of Mungo Maxwell, and the slaying, in self-defense, of a mutinous sailor. Then the author attacks the mystery of Paul's whereabouts and pursuits in the twenty months between his galloping out of Tobago and his appearance in Virginia. Admitting that clues are few and tenuous, Mr. Russell believes the most probable conjecture is that Paul was actually serving on a Spanish pirate ship most of the time. Likewise, the question of why "John Paul" became "J. P. Jones" is answered by the probable theory that Jones was a much less conspicuous name than Paul for any one who had something to conceal.

Throughout the book the malign influence of the tragic episode of the slain sailor is made manifest—along with the conflict between the romantic Celtic side of Jones's nature and the warlike traits inherited from Highland forebears. After a brief but adequate account of Jones's life in Virginia, including his love for Dorothea Dandridge, Mr. Russell explains the important part played in Jones's fortunes by his friend Joseph Hewes of North Carolina. In rapid chapters that fairly skim the waves, Jones's ambitions and disappointments, his ships and commands, his comrades, his battles, his struggles against intrigue, jealousy, procrastination and treachery, from the time he was appointed a lieutenant in the Continental Navy (1775) to his service as a volunteer on a French ship in 1783 are laid before the reader. Not names merely, but flesh and blood men and women walk and talk in these pages. All the heart-breaking humiliation of Jones's efforts to collect prize money due his men and him is set forth, followed by a vivid account of his service in the Russian Navy, his return to Western Europe, the collapse of his health, his sudden and dramatic death at the age of forty-five. At every stage the author shows how the defects of Jones's own

Continued on Page x.





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character militated against him: his impetuous actions, his impatience of the delays of politicians, his readiness to take offense, the disastrous effects of his superior, often supercilious, attitude toward others. To offset this the author reveals the really affectionate nature of the man, his loyalty and esteem for such benefactors as Franklin, Hewes, Morris; his idealism, his naïve lack of suspicion. One is compelled to smile, not scornfully but affectionately, at Jones's inordinate admiration for Thomson's *Seasons* and the frequency with which he quotes "in calm contemplation and poetic ease"—which recurs as often as Dugald Dalgetty's "Gustavus Adolphus, the lion of the north and the bulwark of the Protestant faith." This is not surprising, for both Dugald and Paul were Scots. Henry Ford Jones characterizes Alexander Hamilton as "an Alan Breck with a genius for statesmanship." Mr. Russell depicts John Paul Jones as a man of action with a genius for romance.

The life proper closes with a careful, artistic and convincing evaluation of Jones as a man and a mariner. He said of himself that he never did a mean or base action, but his fittest epitaph is the remark of his trusted and devoted subordinate, Henry Gardner: "I sailed in my time with many captains, but with only one John Paul Jones. He was the captain of captains."

## An Anti-Feminist Utopia

By FLOYD DELL

NOVELIST AND LITERARY CRITIC

THE revolt against the machine age takes various forms, and one of these is embodied in the anti-feminist movement. For feminism is essentially an effort of women to adjust themselves to the new conditions created by the advent of machinery. When "women's work" went out of the home into the factory and office, women had to follow it. The process of adaptation to these new conditions has not been an altogether pleasant process for the women, nor for their husbands and children. In particular it has created a maladjustment between women's functions as mothers and their functions as workers. Both these functions could be clumsily harmonized in the old-fashioned working-home. They are not so easily harmonized between factory or office and what is left of the home. That realistic fact is the basis of the highly romantic anti-feminist movement.

It is a common human trait to idealize our necessitous compromises with reality, to make the best of a hard bargain by romanticizing it. The romanticizing of the old-fashioned home was such a gloss upon such a compromise. When the old-fashioned home was shattered by the machine age, the ensuing painful and experimental reconquest and enlargement of their field of work by women became presently the theme of similar glorification. In the years before the war it was rather the fashion for the intelligentsia to exaggerate the triumph which women had achieved in going out and holding jobs of one sort and another. The practical difficulties of reconciling outside work with motherhood were to some extent glossed over by a militant idealism which asserted, explicitly or implicitly, that economic independence was more necessary to the happiness of a self-respecting woman than babies were.

That idealism, like so many others, seems to have been deflated by the war. Feminism today is more realistic. It no longer seems so glorious for a woman to work for wages, and to the extent to which it interferes with having and caring for babies, it is recognized as a situation in which it is probably desirable for the machine age to begin to adapt itself a little to women, rather than ask women to adapt themselves any further to it. A world which needs and requires the work of women in general must eventually adapt its régime to the fact that women in general have babies. So far, to be sure, the machine age has proved itself stronger than all the institutions, customs, manners and morals which have stood in the way of its efficiency-needs. But it can scarcely prove stronger than the biological arrangements of the race, and it may be obliged in various ways to defer to these.

This, of course, takes it for granted that the machine age is here to stay. But there is another way of looking at the matter, which consists of wishing the machine age out of existence, and with it all the painful problems of woman in industry. This is what is known as the anti-feminist attitude.

It is easily to be understood that some women, acutely aware of the limitations which modern industry puts upon them as mothers, should turn to some vague dream of a world in which women should be released from the demands of other work and left free to exercise their maternal functions in peace. But the corresponding masculine revolt against woman in industry requires some explanation.

The fact is that in the rather tame workaday world of today man occupies a less heroic and lordly position with regard to women than

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*The*  
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in the barbaric or medieval scheme. He too has a lost paradise to dream back to. Sex and politics are here inextricably mixed together, and what begins as a sexual discontent with having to occupy an unheroic rôle in competition with the women who should be one's admiring audience, as illustrated by the neurotic complaints which sound querulously through the pages of D. H. Lawrence, ends as a reckless denunciation of the whole democratic idea, as in the writings of H. L. Mencken. Both the sexual and political elements are logically united in Anthony M. Ludovici's book, *Woman: A Vindication*,\* which is worth considering in some detail as an example of current anti-feminist propaganda, and as bringing the neurotic romanticism of D. H. Lawrence, H. L. Mencken, Count Keyserling, Sherwood Anderson, and other recent anti-feminist writers, within a common focus.

Mr. Ludovici, despite his name, is eminently British; he might be unsympathetically described as a belated Victorian with Nietzschean delusions of prophethood. Very Nietzschean are his denunciations of Christianity and Puritanism for their exaltation of sexlessness, their "Nay-saying" to life. His ideal is the "Yea-sayer," the Positive Man and Woman. He defends, eloquently and humorlessly, woman's right to be what he thinks she is, and in particular he passionately vindicates her needs for maternity. He recognizes her as a being whose biological functions are more important than the efficiency-demands of a commercial civilization. In all this, which is his analysis of the problem, there is something to applaud, in spite of the grotesque air of Messianic omniscience with which it is set forth. It is a queer mixture of platitude and poetry, ignorance and intuition.

Being an anti-feminist, Mr. Ludovici is not obliged to deal with the problem in realistic terms. He is free to dream back, in the Nietzschean fashion, to a quasi-medieval and aristocratic scheme of life, in which men can be Men and women can be Women. And Woman, that is, Positive Woman (who is what used to be referred to in anti-feminist writings as the True Woman), will be put back at her true woman's job. There will be no use made of our "diabolical" devices for preventing conception, nor of those other "abominations," our modern substitutes for breast-milk. So Woman will be kept occupied with bearing and nursing children, the latter process taking preferably, in the author's view, two years. During all this time she will be, we are assured, "happy—exquisitely happy." She will

\**Woman: A Vindication*. By Anthony M. Ludovici. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

be interested, during the whole "twenty to thirty months," exclusively in her child, and will not desire any attention from her husband until this beneficent process needs to be renewed for her.

It is possible that some modern women who have their own grudge against the existing state of affairs might balk at some of Mr. Ludovici's arrangements on their behalf. But that would only prove that they are Negative Women, whose place in his Utopia will presently be made clear.

The Positive Man is what is vulgarly referred to in America as a "He-man." One of Mr. Ludovici's charges against our commercial civilization is that it puts a premium upon sexless men. "The Puritans were concerned with rearing a race of office-hermits \* \* \* and to these, sexual exuberance would naturally be a most irksome, dangerous, and undesirable possession." The Positive Man, on the contrary, is of "an overwhelming impetuosity where sex is concerned." He is frankly described as one in whose company it would be unsafe to leave an attractive young female; such men as can put up tamely with such "provocation" being contemptuously dismissed by Mr. Ludovici as "wet squibs." How, then, is this impetuous fellow to adjust himself to such a remarkably continent marriage as Mr. Ludovici has described? "Unless he is prepared to face a life in which every week is a long-drawn torture to his body, he cannot remain faithful to his spouse." And Mr. Ludovici does not propose to inflict such torture upon the Positive Man: "Wherever possible the man should, of course, have a concubine of some sort."

That is where the Negative Women come into Mr. Ludovici's scheme—at least the more attractive ones of the species. They have their uses. They are for pleasure, not for marriage. Contrariwise, as in Count Keyserling's *Book of Marriage*, the honorable institution of matrimony is not designed for pleasure or for any personal happiness. The erroneous notion that one may marry for happiness, according to Mr. Ludovici, accounts for "the destruction of many of our [British] aristocratic houses by *mésalliances* with chorus girls and American and Jewish heiresses. Had the stupid Puritan prejudice not existed, they might have found pleasure with these inferior females without marrying them."

If the wives are at first inclined to object to this feature of matrimony, they "should be taught that the division of labor is so unfair"—I shall perhaps not be believed, but Mr. Ludovici means unfair to men—"that they get so much more entertainment out of sex than men do"—again it is rather incredible, but Mr. Ludovici means [by entertainment] the twenty to thirty months which women are to

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devote to pregnancy, parturition and suckling—"that some compensating feature ought to be introduced into the lives of the latter"—the compensating feature being the concubine. "The children he had from his concubine," adds Mr. Ludovici, "if any there were, would not necessarily rank in law with the children of his first wife."

There is one more feature of this anti-feminist Utopia that needs to be described. There are Negative Females who would be of no use as concubines. Nowadays they are allowed to teach school, where they urge young girls to have careers, and otherwise spread the poison of their Negative ideas. Some of them even have money, and are quite influential. These are to be locked up, or, as Mr. Ludovici puts it, "everything should be done to revive the medieval system of respectable and honorable sequestration for old maids, in institutions whose functions would be at once religious and of a kind to provide an outlet for the sex-compensatory impulses of the positive [or embittered] and negative [or cheerful] spinster. By this means they might be not only thoroughly adapted, but also in a position to have their activities, their opinions, and (in cases of wealthy people) their wealth, wisely controlled."

This brief view of a typical anti-feminist

Utopia may make us, meanwhile, more tolerant of the manifest shortcomings of our democratic machine age, with its unsolved feminist problems.

## European Rule in Africa

By PRESTON SLOSSON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

IN the flood of books on world affairs that accompanied the opening of the Great War, a dozen or so appeared so sound and scholarly that they have not been rendered wholly obsolete by the march of events and have been deemed worthy of resurrection after the armistice. Among these was *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, by Norman Dwight Harris, now reissued as *Europe and Africa*,\* which is, however, something more than a new edition and something less than a wholly new book. About nine-tenths of its ma-

\**Europe and Africa*. By Norman Dwight Harris. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$4.

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terial deals with events before 1914 and there is little change in the treatment of these topics. But here and there at the end of a chapter will appear a page or two of discussion on some very recent development in African history—the British Administration, under mandate, in Tanganyika (former German East Africa); the Nationalist victory in South Africa; the new Constitution of Egypt.

Most studies of European imperialism belong to the literature of controversy. Some authors write with a view to proving that the advance of European conquest is identical with the advance of civilization; others, such as E. D. Morel and H. A. Gibbons, seem to assume that the advance of civilization is little more than a phrase invented to cloak the greed of merchants and the pride of colonial politicians. Sir H. H. Johnston came the nearest, perhaps, to a balanced picture of the good and evil which European colonization has brought to Africa, but even he was not without prejudices on particular points. If George L. Beer, the historian of the early British Colonial system, had lived to complete his studies in African colonization we might have had a book which would have rendered a new edition of Professor Harris's book unnecessary. But as things are, a reliable, impartial story of the struggle for empire in Africa is welcome, even if it contains no very searching analysis of the economic and social effects of imperialism. *Europe and Africa*, at least, is no partisan pamphlet. The author avoids controversy and speculation and keeps his own opinions very much in the background. Yet there is a point of view, one which might be termed "liberal imperialism"—liberal, because to Professor Harris might convey no rights and conquest has no justification except in so far as it may serve the interests of the governed; imperialist, because he turns by preference to the brighter side of tropical colonization and emphasizes the fact that with all his crimes and blunders on his head the European official is more often than not a wiser and humaner ruler than the barbaric chieftain whom he displaces. Where praise seems due he distributes it with a very generous hand. For instance, he says of the British rule in Nigeria:

In spite of the fact that it is a country in no way suitable for the residence of white men, Nigeria is one of the richest and best administered protectorates in the world, with its millions of inhabitants prosperous and happy. The British statesmen have already ample reason to congratulate themselves upon this triumph of the New Internationalism, which has demonstrated what admirable service a rich and civilized State can render an undeveloped and unenlightened people—oppressed by ignorance and superstition—without the destruction of native ideals and institutions or the seizure of their rights and properties. (Page 183.)

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And the French policy in Morocco, so much criticized since the rebellion of the Riff tribesmen, seems to him "characterized by unity, continuity, firmness, prudence, moderation, and flexibility" (page 326).

Such comments, however, are rare. For the most part the narrative marches forward without stopping for comment or analysis. Just as a standard textbook of European history will follow in the main the events in Great Britain, France, Germany and the other greater States, with only occasional side-glances at the little countries, so Professor Harris devotes by far the greater portion of his work to the larger colonies or those which have had the most importance in diplomatic history. The book is no encyclopedic survey; it is, indeed, crammed with facts, but the facts are those of diplomatic history, not the statistics of local trade and of tribal populations. The Portuguese, Spanish and Italian tropical colonies are barely glanced at. Out-of-the-way French colonies, such as Madagascar, are passed with a mere mention. The space saved from detailed studies of individual colonies is devoted to general narrative of the crises of European imperialism in Africa as a whole, or in such large units as South Africa and the Mediterranean coastlands.

The book starts, appropriately enough, with that phase of liberal indifference to all colonial expansion which is now called "mid-Victorian," though it existed on the Continent as well as in Great Britain. In those days Bismarck was professing that he was "no colony man," a British colonial official ascertained that no one could seriously question the ultimate independence of all British colonies, and the French regarded their tropical posts as at best military training stations or convict dumps. Then came the imperialist renaissance of the eighteen-eighties, furthered by the intenser commercial rivalry of the chief industrial nations as well as by the preachments of Disraeli and Jules Ferry. Africa was split into "spheres of influence," mere paper claims on the map at first, but soon translated into reality by railways, telegraphs and military posts. The Congo Free State was created, a magnificent experiment in liberal and international administration, which degenerated quickly into the private preserve of King Leopold of Belgium. Since the Belgian nation assumed responsibility the colony has been redeemed from the evil reputation which the inefficient Free State Administration had given it, though, just for curiosity's sake, we wish the author had given us his opinion how far the reformation has been brought about by wiser laws and how far by the fact that the Congo is no longer, as in Leopold's day, the most important source of commercial rubber.

Then the author turns to the rival British

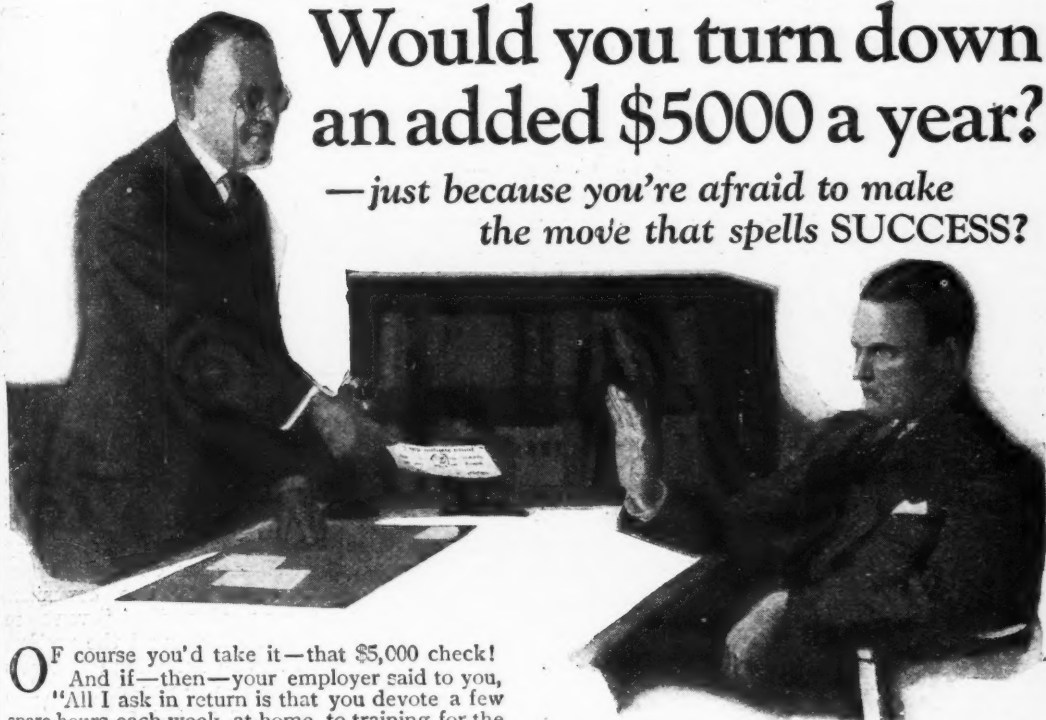
and German colonies in Southwestern and Southeastern Africa. On the whole he regards the British as the more solicitous of native welfare, even at the expense sometimes of the British settlers themselves, but he enters no general verdict against German rule and praises the reformation of colonial methods under Dernburg after 1907. Then he traces the upbuilding of the French tropical empire, and the creation of the British "model colony" of Nigeria. He blames the British for their blundering mismanagement in South Africa, which led to the Boer War, but censures them more for feeble indecision than for any aggressive ambition. A federated South Africa should have been imposed on the Boers, in his opinion, in the days when the British still had general claim of suzerainty over all Dutch South Africa rather than after a separate nationhood had been developed by the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Rhodesia is then considered as an interesting example of colonization by the private enterprise of a chartered company.

The latter half of the book is devoted to the "reoccupation" of Northern Africa. Since the weakening hand of the Roman Empire had let Northern Africa slip from European influence the States of Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco had stagnated under native rule, at once slack and oppressive, or blazed into fitful activity at the urge of Mohammedan prophets. They enjoyed a nominal statehood and a degree of civilization, degenerate though it may have been, which complicated the task of European conquest. In dealing with tropical Africa the diplomats of Europe could gather around a green table, mark lines on a map, give a few presents to the more powerful Negro chiefs, and hoist a flag: the trick was done; a new colony created. But north of the Sahara the task was more difficult. The ruler must be treated with all diplomatic courtesy as a real Sultan, Khedive, Bey or Bashaw, even if in truth he was a puppet in the hands of foreign financiers to whom he had too rashly pledged the resources of his exchequer. Except in the case of Algeria, annexation has been veiled as "protection" or "temporary military occupation." The national pride and religious fanaticism of the people have caused European colonizers to move slowly or pay the penalty in a costly border war. Still greater obstacles to colonization lay in the mutual rivalries of the Powers. They had settled with relative ease their disputes over tropical Africa, but Mediterranean Africa lay too near the Southern coasts of Europe not to enter into every strategic calculation. Egypt and the Sudan long alienated Great Britain from France; Tunis drove Italy from friendship

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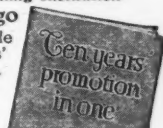
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with France to alliance with Germany; Tripoli waited till the present century before Italy could safely pluck it; Morocco, the thorniest problem of all, nearly led to war between France and Germany on at least three occasions and did contribute somewhat to the international thundercloud that broke into the lightnings of 1914. Now a new era has come. Northern Africa is asking for constitutions, and tropical Africa is being governed by "mandates" from a League of Nations. Native welfare has behind it the threat of native insurrection if European rule prove too irksome. But the white man of the North is trading on a bigger scale than ever, and he will probably continue in one way or another to dominate alike the black man south of the Sahara and the deeply sunburned "white" man of North Africa until either the cost of rule makes African trade unprofitable or a more stable type of native rule permits that trade to continue without European political supervision.

## Occupied Haiti

By WILLIAM E. DUNN

FORMERLY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INTERNAL  
REVENUE OF HAITI

IN view of the many sensational stories regarding the shortcomings of American Administration in Haiti, which have appeared in certain newspapers and magazines of the United States, the findings of a group of unofficial and avowedly disinterested observers should be of considerable interest and value in arriving at a correct understanding of the present situation in the Haitian Republic. This book is intended by its authors to provide such enlightenment.

*Occupied Haiti*\* is a cooperative study written by a committee of five women and one man who spent a few weeks in Haiti in 1926 under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The personnel of the committee is of interest. Miss Emily Greene Balch, editor of the volume, who wrote seven of the fifteen chapters and collaborated on three others, is the Vice President of the United States Section of the league re-

ferred to. The other four women included two colored members, a high school teacher of English, and a representative of an organization known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The male member of the committee was Dr. Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago, who represented the Foreign Service Committee of the Society of Friends. A group more unanimously opposed to American intervention of any kind in the affairs of Haiti could probably not have been brought together. With their affiliations, the members of the committee could hardly be expected to have approached their problem without entertaining preconceived notions concerning the situation they were assigned to investigate.

One therefore takes up *Occupied Haiti* confidently expecting to find a rabid denunciation of American activities in the negro republic, and full substantiation of charges of abuse that have been made against American officials stationed there. It is therefore surprising to discover that confirmation of such charges is notably lacking. Indeed, the committee frankly state in their preface that "even more than they anticipated, they found the problem in Haiti to consist not in individual instances of misused power, but in the fundamental fact of the armed occupation of the country." In another place they assert that "the present American Administration is \* \* \* honest, able, and aiming to serve the people of Haiti, and that cruelty, abuse of personal power, and violence seem to have been substantially stopped."

The subject matter of the volume corresponds in general to the topics which have been often discussed in the public press, and covers the chief activities of American administrators in Haiti. The outstanding portion of the book consists of the two chapters contributed by Professor Douglas on the "Political History of the Occupation" and the "Economic and Financial Aspects of the American Occupation." Professor Douglas has brought together an interesting collection of facts concerning events in the republic since 1915. His account brings out the unmistakable fact that the early history of American intervention was marked by errors that are not creditable to our record as colonial administrators. His chief criticism of present conditions is the failure of our State Department to insist upon the restoration of the Haitian National Legislature, and he voices his belief that the maintenance of what he terms a mere semblance of republican institutions is hypocritical and perhaps worse than unveiled military dictatorship on our part would be. Exception is also taken to the fact that American officials receive much larger salaries than those paid to Haitian employees, a criti-

\**Occupied Haiti*: Being the Report of a Committee of Six Disinterested Americans representing organizations exclusively American, who, having personally studied conditions in Haiti in 1926, favor the restoration of the independence of the Negro Republic. Edited by Emily Greene Balch. New York: The Writers Publishing Company, Inc.

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cism which is not tempered by any explanation of differences between respective abilities and standards of living of the two nationalities. Professor Douglas also believes that the refusal of the American Financial Adviser to obey court judgments involving the payment of large sums from the Treasury on highly questionable grounds is an unhappy principle, although he admits that the Haitian Government has been saved much money in consequence of such refusal.

Dr. Douglas's account of early financial transactions between the Haitian Government and certain foreign companies is instructive, and affords an accurate narrative of certain phases of this initial stage of American intervention. He does not feel it incumbent upon himself, however, to remove any impression that all such events were deliberately connived at by our Government, or that similar conditions may still be possible. Professor Douglas's contribution at best lacks the impartiality that is customarily demanded of the historian and economist according to the best ethics of those scholarly professions. An illustration of his method of treatment may be seen in his reference to the work of the Claims Commission in Haiti, which indisputably performed a signal service to the Haitian people in its rejection of many flimsy revolutionary claims arising before American intervention. Professor Douglas manages to refrain from positive commendation of this body, however, by making this lukewarm statement: "There has been, on the whole, little criticism of the work of the Claims Commission, and it seems to have tried to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Haitian Government." [The italics are the reviewer's.]

Most of the other chapters of the book breathe in spots a more friendly tone toward the present American régime in Haiti, and contain frank admissions that notable service is being rendered the Haitian people in respect to public health, the maintenance of law and order, agricultural development, the construction of roads and public works, and the administration of finances. Such admissions are not made, however, without frequent emphasis that the authors thoroughly disapprove of American intervention in the affairs of an independent nation, regardless of the benefits derived therefrom.

However qualified these admissions may be, they constitute, nevertheless, a refutation of frequently reiterated charges that Haiti has been sold out to American financial interests; that our Department of State is abetting efforts to deprive Haitian peasants of their lands and conspiring to convert the republic into a country of large estates owned by Amer-



ican investors; that an unjust and unscientific tariff has been foisted upon the republic; that all forms of liberty and self-government have been suppressed by tyrannical methods, and that other reprehensive practices have been aided or connived at by American officials in Haiti. Such accusations are disposed of in the chapter on "Charges of Abuses in Haiti" by the statement that restrictions on the freedom of the press constituted the only "atrocities" prevalent in Haiti when the committee made its visit. The contributor of this chapter adds, however, that "the central problem is not how good is American administration in Haiti, but should the United States administer an 'independent' neighboring country."

The final chapter of the volume embodies the conclusions and concrete recommendations of the committee as a whole. It is its belief that the United States is drifting toward imperialism and is at the "parting of the roads." It argues that even from a selfish point of view there is no reason for a continuation of the occupation, since American investments in Haiti have in general been unprofitable. Instead of our policy aiding the Haitians to learn to govern themselves, it feels that "it is at best doubtful whether the opposite is not true." The committee therefore recommends that American officials authorized by the treaty of 1916 be withdrawn from Haiti, and that actual self-government be restored as soon as affairs can be got into such shape as to make it practicable to evacuate the country; that a commission be sent to Haiti as soon as possible to work out a program for such transition. So far as the reviewer is aware, the fundamental recommendation of the committee regarding evacuation is entirely in line with the policy of our Government. The difficulty is in determining when it will be practicable to withdraw from Haiti. The committee does not offer any advice on this important point, although in another place (p. 81) it states that American control should be withdrawn "not with inconsiderate suddenness, but just as soon as may be consistent with giving the Haitians a chance to prepare for the change."

Other recommendations urge the holding of popular elections in 1928; the immediate withdrawal of American marines with the exception of a small body for possible emergencies; the replacement of the present American High Commissioner by a civilian; obedience by American officials of all Haitian court decisions [presumably regardless of the fantastic nature of such decisions]; and the discontinuance of the practice of imprisoning journalists by the present Haitian Government. The committee also feels competent, after approximately a month's visit to Haiti, to advise American treaty officials regarding the conduct of their respective departments. With

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minor exceptions, however, these recommendations might well have been written by the various officials concerned, so completely in harmony are they with the program already in process of execution. In other words, the committee finds itself to a considerable degree in accord with present American policy in Haiti as regards the concrete handling of the situation there, aside from its theoretical aspects. It is doubtful, however, whether purchasers of Haitian bonds will welcome the suggestion that the American Receiver of Customs be withdrawn before the maturity of the republic's external obligations, however confident the committee may be that a satisfactory arrangement could be made to this end.

Although the committee's visit to Haiti failed to convince it that the United States was justified in intervening in the affairs of an independent nation, its report presents nothing of a constructive nature that would lead to a prompt solution of the situation. After all, the problem in Haiti, as it now stands, is not whether we should have gone into the republic in 1915. This question will always be open to argument and much can be said on either side. A rehearsal of past mistakes would also seem to be of little value. It seems far more important to inquire whether we have profited by such mistakes. The real problem now appears to be how to handle a *fait accompli*. Can the United States, in justice to the great masses of the Haitian people, retire from the obligations of a treaty that requires us to remain in Haiti until 1936? The committee itself warn that withdrawal should not be carried out with "inconsiderate suddenness." If sentimentalism is to determine our policy, we should wash our hands of Haiti without regard for future developments. It seems more logical to believe, however, that if the American people accept as correct the findings of the committee that the present American policy in Haiti is based on an honest effort to benefit that republic, it will prefer to leave details in the hands of experienced American officials who are carrying out that policy in cooperation with Haitian authorities, rather than to rely on the judgment of well-meaning idealists who, by their own admission, were able to make only a cursory investigation of what is perhaps the knottiest problem in American foreign relations.

## Brief Book Reviews

**THE PROBLEM OF A WORLD COURT:** The Story of an Unrealized American Ideal. By David Jayne Hill. New York: Longmans Green & Co. \$1.75.

It is obvious that the question of our participation in the World Court has reached an impasse, due in great part, as President Cool-

idge pointed out in an address on Nov. 11, 1926, "to misrepresentations and misconceptions of its fundamental principles and objects among our people." But until the present, not one of the reasons for desiring a World Court has disappeared nor has one of the arguments for it been answered. It is the expressed purpose of Dr. Hill's work "to expose and correct these misrepresentations and misconceptions, not by a discussion of mere opinions, but by an examination of authentic documents and the recital of recorded facts." Dr. Hill discusses in detail where the idea of a Court of International Justice originated and how it was developed; the problem created for the United States by the League's appropriation of the idea of a court; how the Senate tried to help out in the proposal to adhere to the League's Court; the situation after the Geneva Conference; and the price of association in the Court for America.

Dr. Hill, through his extensive and intimate acquaintance with international law, and his long service in various capacities as representative of the United States Government, is well qualified to deal with this important and complicated subject.

**SELECTED ESSAYS.** By Karl Marx. Translated by H. J. Stenning. New York: International Publishers.

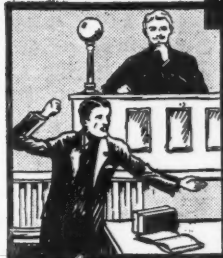
These seven essays, almost all of which had not been accessible in English until the present translation was made, were written by Marx between 1843 and 1850 and mainly in the years 1845-1846. They deal with the Hegelian philosophy of law, the Jewish question, the State and social reform, democracy and Communism, Proudhon, French materialism and the English revolution. The present volume is of importance because it throws light on the evolution of Marx's ideas from his early outlook into the Socialist philosophy which he formulated and which nowadays is generally known as Marxism. Marx did not begin by being a Marxist. When he left the university in 1841 his standpoint was that of a humanitarian. In 1843, when he wrote his essay on the Jewish question, his thinking was still influenced by philosophical and political idealism, though even at this early date he held that society must be freed from commercialism. It was not long before Marx began to move toward his idea of the class divisions in bourgeois society, and in the essay on Hegel's philosophy of law we find the first use of the term "proletariat" and the conception of the revolutionary rôle that Marx believed the proletariat was destined to play. The other essays indicate the emergence of his ideas as well as the increasing intellectual power which distinguished his later work. To the student of political philosophy this volume is of considerable value, for it helps to fill in one of the gaps in the Marxian literature that can be read in English pending a complete definitive English edition of the works of Marx and Engels.

**THE COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND.** By J. S. Marais. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$5.

This book by Dr. Marais of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, represents an attempt to write a comprehensive and impartial account of how the Dominion of New Zealand was settled by men who desired to put into practice a definite theory of colonization, namely, that of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862). While in prison in London for

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abduction he wrote his famous *Letter from Sydney* in which he propounded the ideas on colonization which became the basis of the Wakefield System. Later he was able to interest English statesmen of the day in his plans, and attempts were made to colonize South Australia and New Zealand along the lines he advocated, and he actually took a hand in the carrying out of the New Zealand experiment, which gained its chief success in the settlement of the Province of Canterbury. How the work proceeded and what results it achieved are told by Dr. Marais in a remarkably able manner, for he has made an exhaustive study of all possible sources, official and unofficial. Since the history of the British colonies in Australasia has received very little adequate treatment his volume constitutes an important contribution toward the development of New Zealand's historical literature.

**AMERICAN COMMUNISM.** A Critical Analysis of Its Aims, Development and Programs.  
By James Oneal. New York: The Rand Book Store. \$1.50.

Mr. Oneal has done a valuable piece of work in thus compiling the complete history of the origin and development of the American Communist movement. Indeed, many of the documents which he has used as sources are no longer available to the student. Mr. Oneal traces all the metamorphoses which the American Communist Party has undergone since its inception, its relation to the Communist International and its work and policy in the trade unions. As he puts it, "the American Communists easily stand out as the most conspicuous group in American labor because of their frequent appearances in the headlines of the daily press, and yet the readers of this press have only the most distorted and absurd information about them." Since Mr. Oneal belongs definitely to the Right Wing of the labor movement, it would be expected that his presentation of the subject would be colored by his views. However, in this work he seems to have striven for an impartial viewpoint, and it is not easy to detect any bias in either direction.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE.** By Preston William Slosson. With a supplementary chapter on modern science by Edwin E. Slosson. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$6.

This book of over 700 pages by one of the most brilliant historical scholars of the younger generation will be found of great service to all who need a ready work of reference for the history of Europe during the past quarter of a century. As the author explains, his book "appears in a field where there are already numerous good surveys. Most of them, however, choose 1815 or 1870 as their starting point, and there may be a place for a general history which is free to give a more detailed consideration to the problems of our own generation." Dr. Slosson has admirably brought together a large amount of information that not only deals with the tangled affairs of the European nations but also with their interests abroad, whenever reference to them is required. The book, in short, is just the kind of work to supply students of contemporary events with the background necessary to an understanding of what is going on in Europe today. Although Dr. Slosson has had to set down the facts about many issues that have not yet reached settlement, a fair-minded reader must do him the justice of saying that he is no less fair-minded, and that, as befits a historian of the modern



school, he steadily charts his course toward the goal of objectivity.

**PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY:** The Study and Treatment of the Individual Delinquent. By Edwin J. Cooley. New York: Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. \$3.

An account of the work of the Probation Bureau, established and supported by the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York in the Court of General Sessions of New York City, "the oldest criminal court in North America," covering its unique experiment in well-organized, adequately financed probation work, pronounced by the New York State Probation Commission as "the outstanding contribution made to probation work during the past twenty-five years." Mr. Cooley's attitude toward the problem is indicated by the following sentences: "Sentimentality, hysteria, blind rage or drastic punishment will not cure youthful delinquency. It cannot be checked by the future threat of prison walls or gallows. Youth needs sympathy, profound understanding, skillful guidance and training, and all the resources of modern science during the critical period of growth and infinitely difficult problems of adjustment. One cannot do better than follow the precept of the philosopher, 'Neither condemn nor ridicule, but try to understand.'" \*\*\* All too frequently the blame for a delinquent career rests not on the individual as much as on society which permitted the development of the delinquent tendencies. When we learn to look forward with the child instead of backward with the adult criminal, we will have made great strides in the prevention of crime."

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CLEVELAND, FREDERICK ALBERT. *American Citizenship, as Distinguished from Alien Status.* New York: Ronald, 1927. \$4.

Treats of the legal aspects of citizenship, the benefits derived from it and the duties that it implies. Somewhat academic in form but very complete and satisfactory as to matter.

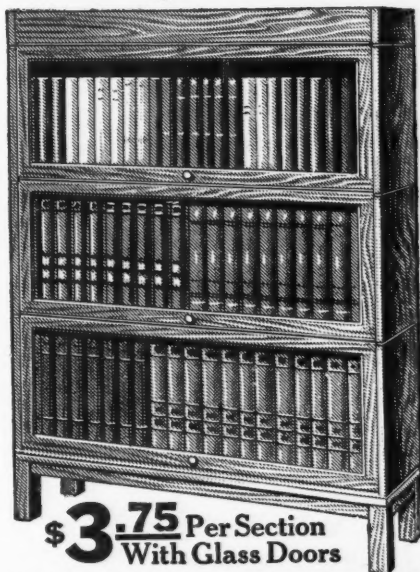
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ETHERTON, PERCY THOMAS. *The Crisis in China.* Boston: Little Brown, 1927. \$3.50.

The author, formerly British Consul-General for Chinese Turkestan and Assistant Judge of the British Supreme Court for China, defends the British in their relations with China, expresses sympathy with her national aspirations, but believes that it is only by the adaptation of Western ideas and experience that

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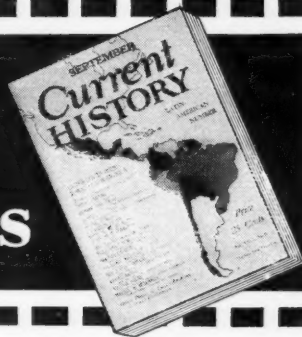
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# To and From Our Readers

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THE tenth anniversary of the Soviet Union focuses attention anew on the most interesting and dramatic expedition into unexplored regions of political and economic administration in the history of civilization. The controversies over the results of this experiment after a decade still rage as furiously as when the Bolsheviki established their autocratic rule and set up the first great Communist Government in the world's history.

In this issue a sincere effort has been made to tell impartially the story of Russia's ten years of Bolshevism. The contributors represent every angle of Russian thought; they were selected with this single purpose, and reflect the thoughtful, careful, studied conclusions of expert authorities on each phase of the subject. High officials of the Soviet Union, who are best qualified to deal with the facts from their point of view, interpret the results of the ten years of Soviet rule and the present status, while the opposite viewpoint is presented by writers who are recognized leaders among the conservative or moderate critics of the Soviet régime.

The symposium is an important and interesting chapter of contemporary history and should receive, as undoubtedly it will, the careful consideration of thoughtful men and women throughout the world.

\* \* \*

## THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN 1914

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I should like to call your attention and that of your readers to an apparent error in my article in *CURRENT HISTORY* for August, 1927 (p. 695, column 1), in which I say that Nicolson's private letter to Buchanan on July 28, 1914, helped the Russians to decide upon their fatal general mobilization. In an article in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for June, 1927 (pp. 578-580), Hermann Lutz has shown that this communication could not have arrived in St. Petersburg in time to have been read by Buchanan until after the Russians had decided upon general mobilization on the afternoon of July 30. As Montgelas points out in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for June, 1927 (p. 584), it would have been possible for a courier to have brought the letter to St. Petersburg by the early afternoon of July 30, but Nicolson contends that the courier did not leave London until the 29th and did not arrive in St. Petersburg until the afternoon of Aug. 1. If Nicolson

tells the truth, then his letter did not affect the Russian decision, though it remains as damaging as ever as a revelation of Nicolson's policy and state of mind.

In regard to another matter connected with the war, I have received from Count Max Montgelas the following comment upon the article of Herr von Gwinner in *CURRENT HISTORY* for May, 1927: "In *CURRENT HISTORY* for May, 1927, there was an article from Mr. von Gwinner which contained the old mistake about Russian Siberian troops fighting at the Battle of Tannenberg. Such mistakes ought not to occur, as they do great harm to the dissemination of truth. The Siberian troops which first reached the theatre of war were the Third Siberian Army Corps, and this corps began to disembark only from Aug. 29 onward, viz.: after the Battle of Tannenberg (Reichsarchiv *Der Weltkrieg*, 1914-1918—German official work on the World War—Vol. II, p. 233). Furthermore, no proof whatever exists that Russia began any mobilization measures before July 26. All the tales about Russian military transports in the Spring of 1914 evidently refer to ordinary transports to camps, &c."

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

\* \* \*

## A PROTEST FROM PANAMA

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I have before me a copy of your September issue which contains an article entitled "Influence of the United States on Central American Progress," by William Jennings Price. Believing that your purpose is to bring the peoples of South and North America to a closer understanding of each other, I wish to submit that Mr. Price does not present a correct view.

When Panama became a nation in 1903 we signed a treaty which was not entirely to our liking but nevertheless from which important benefits were to be derived: (1) We were to be an independent nation. (2) The Canal was to be constructed. (3) We were to receive \$10,000,000 plus an annuity of \$250,000. (4) We were to enjoy the friendship of the American people. Then in 1926 we were asked to ratify another treaty carrying with it enormous responsibilities and a total absence of benefits. The nation opposed this treaty with all its might and defeated it. In 1903 our refusal to sign the treaty would have

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# CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXVII

November, 1927

No. 2

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**NIKOLAI LENIN (VLADIMIR ILYICH ULYANOV)**

The organizer of the Bolshevik Revolution of Nov. 7, 1917, and head of the Soviet Government until his death on Jan. 21, 1924. He was born on April 22, 1870





# CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXVII

November, 1927

Number 2

## Ten Years' Struggle to Convert Russia to Communism

By WALTER DURANTY

MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

ANY ONE who attempts to review and analyze the events of the past ten years in Russia is immediately confronted by a wall of contradictions, conflicts and contrasts, perhaps inherent in the Russian character, but more sharply evident and more baffling in connection with the Bolshevik movement and its relation to Russia and the rest of the world. There is an obvious and natural temptation to avoid the obstacle by contenting one's self with a more or less bald recapitulation of facts and dates, illustrated and enlivened, if may be, by personal observation and comment. But when all is said the purpose of walls is to define and demark as well as to bar the way, so after six years as a newspaper correspondent in Soviet Russia I make bold to leave history to the historians and try the dangerous experiment of using the wall itself—these contrasts and contradictions—as the theme of my essay.

Surely no great national upheaval, not even the French Revolution, was ever so misunderstood and misrepresented by its contemporaries. Precisely on account of its inherent contradictions, magnified and distorted as they were from the outset by "war neurosis" and its attendant propaganda, by human pity for those on whom their fathers' sins were visited so bloodily, and by the enmity of the two great forces upon which modern civilization rests, Religion, the sanctity of God, and Capitalism, the right of

Property. Moreover, to the rest of the world Russia, a half-medieval, half-Asiatic country under its veneer of foreign culture, had always lived behind a veil of mystery, terror and romance. Here, quite abruptly, stands the first contradiction—an immensely powerful, luxurious and "foreignized" ruling class, and an amorphous hundred million or more of slaves kept barely above starvation point in ignorance and squalor. Does not that contrast help to explain the downfall of those rulers when defeat in war had weakened them to exhaustion? If the rest of the world had seen behind the veil it might have guessed the meaning of a second contradiction, more profound this time, because an emanation of the Russian mind itself—that this vast country with the territory and natural resources of the United States and Canada combined, should remain almost wholly undeveloped, yet ever striving toward further expansion, literally in terms of land, morally in terms of ideas. Is it not some reaction against centuries of servitude under alien or semi-alien rulers, some egoism resurgent against the complex of inferiority, that account alike for the ceaseless thrustings toward Afghanistan, China, Persia or Constantinople, the Pan-Slav movement of the decade before the War, and the Communist International of today?

So it was not unfitting that the Soviet Rule, which in November celebrates the tenth

anniversary of its rise to power over Russia more absolute and dictatorial—despite its slogan of universal freedom and equality—than that of the Czars it succeeded, should have begun with the greatest and most amazing contradiction of all. They called it the “People’s Revolution”—“all power to the masses,” “land for the peasants,” “food for the workers,” and “peace for the soldiers”—and lo! it was a Communist Revolution, launched, directed and controlled with incredible daring and dexterity by a small group of men profoundly imbued with an untried theory, whose originator had proclaimed that it applied only to a highly developed industrial state. Is not that a paradox to whet curiosity? But I can add another, scarcely less startling. The real revolution of Russia did not occur suddenly on the famous 7th of November, 1917, but had been in progress for six months or more, everywhere throughout the country, as the land-hungry peasants rose against their masters and divided their estates.

Of course, there is no doubt that the political genius of Lenin no less than the futility and feebleness of his adversaries brought about defeat of the counter-revolution, but the point I wish to prove is that a Bolshevik revolution in Russia was and is an anomaly, and that one is not far wrong in suggesting that the measure of Soviet Russia’s success is in direct ratio to its divergence from the original strict principles of Marxian Communism. I am aware that during the recent controversy within the Communist Party of Russia both the Administration and the Opposition leaders have declared repeatedly that the “deviations” from pure Marxist doctrine, of which each side accuses the other, would not have been allowed to take place had Lenin lived. While allowing for the quite natural tendency of both groups to try and secure for themselves the “Papal Infallibility” with which their dead leader is now invested, I venture to maintain precisely the opposite viewpoint—that Lenin was first to recognize (and even in the case of the New Economic Policy to admit) the necessity of redressing the balance between a comparatively fortuitous Bolshevik revolution and the enormous mass upheaval which preceded it and made it possible. Communists, of course, with their dogma of revolution’s inevitability in certain circumstances, will object to the word “fortuitous.” But I am not a Communist, nor am I writing for Communists, and I believe that the sole reason why the Bolsheviks were able to seize and retain power in 1917 was that they were the most

courageous, efficient, disciplined and best-led group in the chaos that then was Russia. But they had to count later with the rest of Russia, and adjust themselves to the rest of Russia or blow lamentably up.

#### HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The history of Soviet Russia falls easily enough (and is reckoned by the Bolsheviks themselves as so falling) into three periods: (1) Revolution and Counter-revolution, 1917 to 1920; (2) The New Economic Policy (NEP) and the era of Reorganization, 1921 to 1924; (3) The era of Socialist Construction, 1925 to 1927.

*Revolution and Counter-revolution*—When Lenin and his associates seized power in November, 1917, they had behind them the experience of two abortive movements, that of 1905 and that of July, 1917.

In 1905 the circumstances were similar to those of 1917, that is, the ruling class of Russia had been gravely weakened by an unsuccessful war. But the movement, although widespread, was sporadic and uncoordinated, the revolutionary leaders were indecisive and their immediate followers lacked discipline and cohesion. Above all there had been a lack of preparation; the minds of the workers in the large urban centres, who fatally in so vast a country as Russia must form the rank-and-file of any revolutionary force, had not been educated by any program, even expressed in the simple form of posters and slogans.

The same was true of the attempted Bolshevik coup in July, 1917; to a lesser extent, but still sufficiently to make the difference between success and failure. The Bolsheviks had come out with a program all Russia wanted—“Peace and Land”—and they thought it was enough. But the troops were in a state of hopeless anarchy, not yet shooting their officers save in rare cases, but refusing to obey their orders and leaving the front en masse. Meanwhile the peasants were busily taking the land without waiting for any Bolshevik say-so. There was no way successfully to strike even the mild blow needed to overthrow the *fantoche* Government of Kerensky. Lenin solved the problem by organizing the workers of Petrograd, Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod and the Moskva basin, who formed the celebrated Red Guard which overthrew the Kerensky régime with ridiculous ease. A small nucleus of sailors and soldiers whom the Bolsheviks had been able to rediscipline provided the cadres for this motley force. And the trick was done. Curiously enough, its very success led the new Government

into the first of its serious difficulties. To sign the peace of Brest-Litovsk and thus win Lenin's famous "breathing-space" from the Germans was relatively simple, although it demanded an oratorical *tour de force* from Lenin himself to convince the more fanatic of his followers, who still believed that they had only to uphold the red banner for all the proletariats of Europe to follow their example. (That was Lenin's first compromise with pure Marxist principles.) Nor was it more difficult to baffle the blundering hostility of allied and associated diplomats and soldiers, whose own published records expose an almost total incomprehension of the true course of events and the forces they were striving to combat.

Unfortunately, however, the very fact that success was due to the support of the industrial workers confirmed the Bolsheviks, including Lenin, in their Marxist dogma of social revolution. Also it must be remembered that at that time, in the Spring of 1918, they implicitly believed that the continuance of the war must bring about revolution elsewhere. At that time neither they, nor the German—or be it said the allied—leaders anticipated that the weight America would throw into the balance would be so tremendous as to turn the scale within six months.

The Bolsheviks, accordingly, having won their breathing space, set blithely about putting integral Marxism into practice. To dispossess the aristocrat and the bourgeois and divide their goods among the poor was simple enough. But men cannot live on office desks or Empire furniture, nor even, in days of chaos, on diamonds or gold cups. When gradually the Bolsheviks began to put pressure on the peasants they were rudely disillusioned. To put the matter bluntly, the Russian peasant, with so few exceptions as to make no matter, did not know or care a whoop about the Bolshevik revolution. After centuries of virtual slavery he was his own boss owning his own land.

By the Summer of 1918, therefore, the counter-revolution was in full swing. Everywhere it was the Social Revolutionaries—that is, the Peasant Party par excellence—who led the wave of reaction. Trained to terrorism, which the Bolsheviks had disavowed, Social Revolutionary gunmen assassinated Communists large and small by dozens, while their emissaries in the villages preached resistance against Bolshevik food "requisitions." The climax came at the end of August, when a Social Revo-

lutionary girl, Dora Kaplan, shot Lenin as he was leaving a workers' meeting. With a bullet only millimeters from his spine Lenin's case seemed hopeless—at that it was probably responsible for his comparatively early death—and his followers wrought a terrible vengeance, not however upon the Social Revolutionaries, whom they could rarely reach, but on the unhappy aristocrats, soldiers and big bourgeois, whose antagonism, however unlimited in theory, had proved almost negligible in fact.

Of course the urban centres, already completely cowed and wholly in the hands of the Bolsheviks and their worker supporters, were terrorized beyond belief. Perhaps the Bolsheviks imagined that the mounting wave of reaction was due to the killing of the Czar (in July, 1918) and many members of his family, in addition to those who were killed beside him, and of the highest nobility and clergy at Ekaterinburg and Alapayevsk in the Ural foothills. If they thought so they were wrong. Those luckless and, in the main, quite innocent, victims were paying the penalty for the ferocious repression in that area of the revolt of 1905, which, it is claimed by Soviet historians, cost 70,000 lives. That it was brutal enough there is no doubt, and for that blood the ill-fated Romanovs were bloodily required.

#### ALLIES' CROWNING FOLLY

But terrorism did not bring food from the countryside or check the counter-revolution, which before the killing of the Czar or the attack upon Lenin had already assumed concrete form in the shape of advancing armies welcomed by the peasants as saviors from the Red oppression. It was that Summer that Lenin in desperation offered to accept a *status quo*, leaving all Siberia, Ukraine, the Caucasus and most of the South in the hands of his enemies. To the best of my knowledge that offer was never made public at the time in Europe or America. Doubtless the allied and associated leaders thought the Bolsheviks were on their last legs and that a truce with them was folly. So, to make their defeat more certain, those leaders proceeded to the crowning folly—from their viewpoint—of armed intervention.

To this day I stand dazed before the stupidity of that act, which not only was quite indefensible from the standpoint of international law, but, if the Alabama case holds good, commits the Governments of the United States, France and Great Brit-

ain to a colossal claim for damages. Only success could justify it, and it was the one step which made success impossible.

The effects were immediate and irrevocable. On one hand, the Bolsheviks, for the first time, were able to present themselves as patriots, fighting to clear Russian soil of a foreign invader—and Russia has not forgotten Napoleon and Moscow's suicidal holocaust; on the other hand, it brought into being the fatal insolence of the then victorious counter-revolutionaries, which the Greeks said is bred of success and leads inevitably to the Nemesis. Instead of rescuing the peasants from the Reds, the White leaders began to speak of recovering their own estates. They indulged in wholesale pogroms and lootings of inoffensive Jews, whose only crime was that there were many of their race in the higher ranks of Bolshevism. In the urban centres they occupied there flared up a White terror little less dreadful than the Red. Perhaps if the allied troops had not imagined that they had been mustered to fight the Germans, or later, when the great war was over, that "Home toot sweet" (*Home tout de suite*) sounded better than Russian snows, the result might have been different. But at that there is no avoiding Nemesis, and she overtook those White armies swift and sure. By the end of 1919 Russia was all Red again, with the exception of a Japanese force, later evacuated, in the Far East, and the army of Wrangel, later obliterated, in the Crimea.

But the Bolsheviks, too, were only human. Against Lenin's advice, Trotsky, idol of the Red Army and one of the most intrinsically brilliant human beings it has been my lot to meet, forced through a decree maintaining his victorious troops under their colors, not as soldiers of the revolution, but as a labor army, disciplined, drilled and commanded for work on the "industrial front," in other words, as conscript labor in the Russian factories. Theoretically, especially according to Communist theory, the idea was marvelous. In practice it raised the frantic opposition not only of the "labor warriors" but of the genuine labor federations, by this time grown most powerful, upon whose support the Bolshevik revolution had been built.

There was a moment of acute embarrassment, but once again fortune smiled. The Poles, inspired by *la folie des grandeurs* and the incorrigible hopes of certain British military representatives in the Baltic States, marched suddenly on Kiev in the early Summer of 1920. The labor army van-

ished like a stone in the sea, and Soviet Russia, one and indivisible, issued a loud appeal to all her sons, Red or White, to join in defense of the Fatherland against the ancient foe. I do not know how many former Czarist officers actually responded—the Soviet historians claim upward of 10,000—but there were plenty of them, including General Brusilov.

#### THE POLISH CAMPAIGN

Well, the world knows what happened. How the Red armies smashed the Poles like glass and raced on to Warsaw. Trotsky, to give him credit, smelt danger in the air and advocated peace with profit—and accrued territory. But the Bolsheviks in Moscow were now high in the saddle. Even Lenin approved the playing of the "*va tout*," which, if it won, might bring the long-awaited European revolution. A small, acute, unobtrusive Frenchman named Weygand, who had been chief of staff to Marshal Foch, pricked the Red bubble in three days. The Russian armies retreated as rapidly as they had advanced. There was a long wrangle over peace terms, which finally left things much as before. The Bolsheviks had failed in their drive for European revolution, but their power at home, further consolidated by victory over the last "White hope," Wrangel, in the Fall of 1920, was now firmly established.

*The New Economic Policy.*—Almost immediately the relaxation of pressure from without had its effects within. In the early Spring of 1921 there was an armed revolt at Kronstadt, that stronghold of the Red sailors, whose aid during the crisis of 1917 had sent Kerensky scurrying away from the Winter Palace. The Bolsheviks professed to ascribe this affair to foreign agencies. If they really thought so they were speedily undeceived. A month or two later the peasants of Tambov Province, exasperated by food requisitions, revolted also, killing food collectors and Communists indiscriminately. A division of the Red Army sent to suppress them mutinied, and by the end of March there were 25,000 men—some say 60,000—in open rebellion. That sounded the death-knell of pure, or, as the Russians call it, militant, Communism. Henceforward there would be no more attempt to evade the initial contradiction with which the Soviet State was founded—Communist rulers and would-be petit-bourgeois masses. The day of compromise with dogmatic principles of Marxism had definitely begun. It is far from ended yet.

Lenin acted with characteristic strength



and acumen. For the first and last time deliberately playing the rôle of dictator, he ordered immediate freedom of trading, buying and selling with money, hitherto condemned under the name of speculation, in Tambov and the adjoining provinces, and rushed supplies of salt, kerosene and other primary commodities to the affected area. The rebellion ceased as by magic and Lenin set himself to teach his followers the lesson he had learnt. The controversy raged sharply throughout the Summer, but by Aug. 9 the great NEP decree was officially promulgated, and Russia had resumed her place among capitalist nations.

The subsequent history of the Soviet State has not disproved that basic and essential change. Try as they will to disguise it by terminology, "State Socialism," "Socialist Commonwealth," even—from some ingenious soul at a Communist Party congress two or three years ago—"Communist capitalism," the fact that capitalist methods have been, and remain, adopted, stands immovable as Gibraltar. The alignment is now clear—Bolshevik principles versus folkways which the Russian people share with the rest of the world.

To prove that Lenin was right came the Great Famine of 1921-2, when a drought of unusual duration in the Volga, North Caucasian and South Ukrainian Provinces eliminated the meager crops which the peasants had been planting—each one sowing just enough for his own needs to avoid the food requisitions. Had it not been for American help, lavishly given and administered with marvelous success in the face of a thousand difficulties, the deathroll might have run to ten or fifteen million. Actually it was insignificant by comparison.

It would be interesting to speculate how far this example of American efficiency—this time playing almost errorless because the American Relief Administration had been trained fine by years of experience in Belgium and Central Europe—gave vim and tone to the remarkable economic revival that Russia has staged since. One thing at least is certain—from high Communist to lowly peasant there is not a man in Russia who does not see the United States as the model for his country to follow, to different ends it may be, and with other ideals, but to follow nevertheless.

The famine was evidence overwhelming to the most reactionary (Communistically) of Lenin's adherents, and for a time the forbidden "speculation," now unleashed, ran rife throughout Russian cities. Restaurants, cabarets, dance halls, *nacht-lokalen*, gam-

bling hells, flourished everywhere, their mushroom growth fostered by the manure of "Black Bourse" gambling in depreciating currency. Fat wives of Nepmen (blood brothers to the *schiebers* of Germany) reveled, bedecked with jewels, under the white lights. In the true Roman sense of the word it was a brief and brilliant Saturnalia. A reaction, perhaps salutary, against the black *hunger-zeit* of war and militant Communism, a monstrous effervescent to surge the stagnant blood of commerce back through its accustomed arteries.

The Communists watched cynically, as a Roman patrician, during the license of Saturn's feast, must have watched the impertinent antics of his slaves. Then suddenly they cracked the whip. At the height of the Christmas festivities of 1923 Dzerzhinsky, creator and lord of the Cheka, raided the Hermitage Restaurant in Moscow, the bright white stucco Mecca of successful Nepmen, and herded the pseudolords of a brief carnival off to Siberian exile or the bleak island in the Northern Sea. Saturnalia was ended and the era of reconstruction had arrived.

During 1923-24 the Bolsheviks accomplished miracles. They set their shattered currency firmly on a gold basis. They cemented their alliance with their worker supporters, who had been disgusted almost to the verge of revolt by the antics of the Nepmen (and were correspondingly delighted by their swift and dismal downfall). They consolidated the divers units of the old Czarist Empire into a union welded solid by full-disciplined members of their organization in all the key positions. (It was here that Stalin, who has inherited the major part of Lenin's mantle, first showed his talent for statecraft.) They set their factories and their commerce working. And they put Russia back before the world, not as a madhouse of pestilent fanatics, but as a great and growing power, young, vigorous and eager, with a new and potent ideology to appeal to mankind, and with devotees in every land.

*The Era of Socialist Construction.*—But they lost Lenin. Once more it is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened had Lenin lived. Certainly there would have been no controversy within the Communist Party, which during the past three years has absorbed the energies, sometimes almost exclusively, of the Bolshevik leaders. In my own opinion, he would probably have continued to guide the country along the path of evolution which his NEP first opened. But he, like his followers who

rule Russia today, would not wholly have abandoned the principles of Marxism, and the struggle between those principles and Russian habits and ideas, the essential contradiction, would have been maintained. At present it is thrown into the foreground by the attempt of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and the other Opposition leaders to check Stalin and the administration of the Communist Party in what the Opposition calls a wholesale capitulation before the petit-bourgeois tendencies of the Russian masses. Nevertheless, despite this exhausting controversy, the economic progress of Russia has been constant, and the power has after all remained in the hands of the State. From

time to time there have been setbacks, due perhaps to an unwise insistence upon Bolshevik principles — mostly as applied through the Communist International abroad. But even here, as was the case recently with China, the interests of Russian nationalism are being considered, no less and maybe more, than the interests of Communist internationalism. The future depends upon so many unknown contingencies that it is foolish to prophesy. But it may safely be said that the past ten years have shown that the weight of Russia is heavier in the balance than the weight of communism.

Moscow, September, 1927.

## The Finances of Soviet Russia

By MOISSEI ILYICH FRUMKIN

VICE-COMMISSAR FOR FINANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

THE Soviet régime inherited the finances of the country from the Czar's Government and the Provisional Government in a state of absolute ruin. Three years of civil war still further worsened the economic, and, therefore, the financial situation of the country. Only after victory had been achieved over the armies of intervention and over the last White General, Wrangel, was the Soviet Government able to begin improving the People's Economy and stabilizing the financial system.

It was quite clear to our Administration that on the basis of a passive budget, to cover which a mass of paper was issued, it was quite impossible to create either a healthy industrial production or a healthy circulation of goods. A normal economic activity under conditions of a depreciating currency was not possible. In 1920 the deficit on our budget was 85 per cent., and was covered by issuing bank notes. In 1921-2 emission of paper represented 74 per cent. In 1922-3 it represented 53 per cent. In 1923-4 it was 29 per cent. Side by side with the revival of the productive forces of the country the Government took measures to create a sound currency. At the end of 1922 the State Bank issued Chervontsy notes with a metal security. In February, 1924, the monetary reform was carried through, the old paper was driven out of circulation, and in its stead a definitely stabilized new monetary unit was issued creating unity in the circulating currency.

Precisely from that year on, i. e., 1924-5, the budgets ceased to show a deficit. A balanced budget was the foundation laid for the whole monetary reform. On the basis of a sound currency began the process of improving the national economy and increasing the national income. This growth made it possible to improve our budgetary policy, and created a solid basis for developing a balanced State budget.

Taxation of the working masses of the Soviet Union is considerably lighter than in pre-war Russia. For the most numerous group of population—the peasants—all taxes including land rent were before the revolution 10 rubles, 80 kopeks per head per annum. In 1925-6, direct and indirect taxation for the same group amounted per head to 8.48 rubles. It must be added that the poor peasants, who are approximately one-fourth of the whole peasantry, are exempt from all taxation. The city proletariat pays annually about 30 rubles per head. Workers and employees earning less than 100 rubles per month are exempt. Rather heavier are the taxes for the non-worker part of the population.

In the general total, all State taxes, direct and indirect, represented for 1925-6, 1,880,000,000 rubles; for 1926-7, 2,333,000,000 rubles; in 1927-8, the total will be about 2,517,000,000 rubles. Revenues from transport, State industry and trade, banks and other non-taxational sources were in 1925-6, 2,000,000,000 rubles; in 1926-7, over 2,416,-

000,000 rubles; in 1927-8 the Government expects to obtain from these sources 2,565,000,000 rubles. With the aim of more widely financing National Economy, the Soviet Administration issues internal loans, which in 1922-3 brought into the State budget 81,900,000 rubles; in 1924-5, 130,500,000 rubles; in 1926-7, about 300,000,000, and in 1927-8, about 400,000,000 rubles are expected. The total Internal State debt of the USSR on July 1, 1927, represented 673,200,000 rubles.

Internal State loans are placed without any strain. Until now they have represented a small sum, but every year they grow with the growth of our economy and the growth of saving among our population, whose welfare is increasing. We must note that in 1926-7 1,500,000,000 rubles was spent on financing industrial construction, transport and agriculture; of which for industry alone about 1,000,000,000 rubles. For 1927-8, these investments will be considerably increased. For industry alone the assignment will represent a further 2,000,000,000.

At the head of our banking system is the

State Bank. Unlike the Western European banks, our State Bank is not only an emission bank, but undertakes all the important operations connected with financing the National Economy. There exist also, besides special banks, the "Prom" (Industrial and Commercial) Bank, financing industry and to some extent internal trade; the Foreign Trade Bank, financing foreign trade operations; the Electro Bank, financing electric enterprises, and the Cooperative Bank, financing all cooperative undertakings. At the head of Municipal Credit is the Central Communal Bank, while at the centre of the network of agricultural credits is the Central Agriculture Bank, under which about 15,000 village credit institutions are grouped.

The People's Commissariat of Finance feels that it has the right to declare that the financial policy of the Soviet Government, which was already clear at the time the monetary reform was undertaken, has entirely justified itself. The National Economy of our Union is ever growing, ever gaining strength, and with it the financial resources of the country.

Moscow, September, 1927.

## The Soviet's Advance Toward Industrial Power

By ANASTASIUS MIKOYAN

COMMISSAR OF TRADE OF THE SOVIET UNION

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the capitalist world in the midst of which it lives and the technical backwardness of the country, the economic development of the first proletarian Government is swiftly and decisively progressing. We have already passed out of the period of restoration and entered on the phase of reconstructing the whole national economy on a basis of a superior technic on which we are building a Socialistic society. When the Soviet régime was established the foreign trade of Russia was as a result of war in a state of utter ruin. During the following years our foreign trade nearly ceased because of the civil war and the blockade. The beginning of restoration of foreign trade relations can be regarded as dating from 1920, when the civil war and the blockade ended.

The foreign trade monopoly is the basic principle of the Soviet's foreign trade policy. This principle, which has remained intact throughout the whole history of the Soviet Union's foreign trade, has entirely justified itself. It has allowed us, under extremely difficult conditions, to reach in only a few years a total foreign trade turnover of 1,500,000,000 rubles, whereas in 1920 it was only 30,000,000 rubles; and, whereas in 1922 our imports consisted mainly of commodities, in 1923-4, 83.4 per cent. were articles of productive importance, such as industrial equipment, machine tools and raw materials. The foreign trade monopoly, one of the most important State organs of the Soviet régime, guarantees the interests of firms trading with us. Throughout this whole period we have not had a single case of the responsibilities



assumed by Soviet organizations not being fulfilled, nor of the bankruptcy of such an organization, whereas abroad such cases are by no means rare. The interests of firms trading with us are guaranteed because the whole Government answers for each separate Soviet organization.

In 1926-7 we no longer had an adverse trade balance, and for the first nine months of this financial year, Oct. 1 to June 30, 1927, our exports amounted to 577,700,000 rubles, as against 505,500,000 rubles of imports. None the less, we have not yet reached the pre-war level of either exports or imports. The increase in our people's well-being has resulted in an increase of the consumption of such products as white bread, butter, eggs and foodstuffs, which formerly were exported in considerably greater quantities than at the present time. The growth of imports, which do not yet satisfy our country's needs, is held up by our need of credits. Recently we have obtained larger credits for these operations, but still they are not adequate. Moreover, our imports have to be in proportion to our exports.

The results achieved in our domestic trade are characterized not only by an increase in turnover, but also by the ever-increasing part played by State and cooperative trade in the market.

This development has made it possible for the State to influence prices and pursue a definite policy in accordance with the interests of the whole national economy.

The sharp fall of prices of agricultural produce created in 1923 a crisis in the sale of industrial goods. From this time on the active regulation of prices in State trade began in order to avoid a relative devaluation of agricultural produce. To the problem of getting rid of the "scissors," that is, the difference between agricultural and industrial prices, was added in 1924 the problem of lowering the general level of prices and approximating them to those ruling in the world market. Because of this, the process of "closing the scissors," which at first was undertaken by lowering industrial and raising agricultural prices, will henceforth in large measure be achieved by means of merely lowering industrial prices. The increasing productivity of labor and the reduced production cost side by side with the unification of wholesale trading has permitted the Government to dictate prices to the retail market. In 1924 the struggle to lower prices was mainly concentrated on industrial production costs; but recently this struggle has been extended

into the sphere of distribution. A specially active struggle to lower prices has been waged during the last year and a half; and its influence has been seen of late. As a result of the whole policy of the Soviet Government in regard to prices, the general level of wholesale prices for industrial goods has been reduced from 2.757 in 1923 to 1.882 in 1927, the equivalent of 31.7 per cent. The level for agricultural prices for this period rose from 0.888 to 1.539, which equals 73.3 per cent. Such a rise in prices for agricultural goods helped to increase the well-being of the agricultural population; and the lowering of the general level of retail prices helped to raise the living level of city population, increasing the real wages of workers.

The tenth year of the Soviet régime has been a year of examination of the whole system of home and foreign trade. The success of the campaign to lower retail prices, carried out under the extreme difficult conditions due to a shortage in goods, was a proof of the vitality and truth of those principles which were at the root of the policy of price regulation on the home market. The breach with Great Britain, which has an important place in our foreign trade relations, had no effect on our foreign trade as a whole, and our business has quickly adapted itself without any special difficulty to the change by the replacement of the exports and imports which we had expected to exchange with Great Britain. This is a proof that we have complete control over our home and foreign trade and that we are able to direct it into whatever channels we desire. Such control and direction do not exist either in Western Europe or in America.

Although the United States is the only country which has been able to obtain enormous results in standardizing industry, mass production and so forth, the Soviet Union can also claim, notwithstanding its backwardness, to be on the way to great accomplishments, for the social structure of its economy guarantees it greater possibilities in this domain than does the tremendous industrial development of many other countries of the world. And there are other points which our country has in common with the United States; the existence of enormous resources in both natural wealth and in man power guarantees the Soviet Union the tempo at which we are moving forward and recalls the rapidity of the development of the productive forces of the transatlantic republic. Business collaboration between these two great countries can assist the future growth of their economy.

Moscow, September, 1927.



# Results of the Bolshevik Regime in Russia

By A. J. SACK

FORMER APPOINTEE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRINCE Lvov AND KERENSKY GOVERNMENTS;  
AUTHOR OF *The Birth of the Russian Democracy*

THE tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik coup d'état which took place in November, 1917, finds the Bolshevik party in power in Russia, just as the 300th anniversary of the ascension of Michael Romanov to the throne of Russia, solemnly celebrated in 1913, still found the Romanov dynasty ruling over the vast Russian Empire.

But behind the splendor and the seeming stability of the Romanov rule, tremendous social forces were working, underground, with the result that four years later, in March, 1917, the world witnessed the downfall and the disappearance of Czarism practically overnight. Just as in the case of Czarism, the result of the ten years of the Bolshevik rule should be judged not by appearances, but by the political, economic and social tendencies which developed within Russia during the past decade.

It is a great satisfaction that the Bolshevik régime, its results and tendencies, can at this moment be examined on the basis of actual facts. There was a time when Russia under the Bolshevik rule was isolated from the rest of the world; there was a time when in the passions of civil war truth was mutilated, wittingly or unwittingly, on every side. Civil war is now a thing of the past. The outside world has established a continuous contact with Russia, diplomatic or otherwise. Thousands of people, including men in all walks of life, have traveled to and from Russia. Although freedom of speech and press is suppressed in Russia as never before, so that the Bolshevik party and the official Bolshevik press are the only ones allowed to exist, the movements within the party and the Bolshevik newspapers and magazines still reflect, at least to a degree, the fundamental facts in Russian life.

The purpose of this article is to examine the results of the decade of Bolshevik rule in Russia in the light of these facts. The situation is too important to be approached in any other way.

Ten years ago, in the Summer of 1917, in the heat of his struggle against the Keren-

sky Government, Lenin published a pamphlet on political parties in Russia. This pamphlet, analyzed in the light of the subsequent events, remains, in the belief of the writer, a most outstanding document on the psychology underlying the Bolshevik movement. A clear knowledge of that psychology in many cases is the necessary prerequisite for a proper approach and analysis of the Russian problems, inasmuch as the Bolshevik party and its leaders constitute an important factor, although not the only one, in the Russian situation.

Defining the attitude of the Bolshevik party toward the problem of government in Russia, Lenin declared in the above pamphlet that the party stands for "a republic of the Soviets; the abolition of the standing army and the police, substituting for them an armed people; officials to be not only elected, but also subject to recall; their pay not to exceed that of a good workingman." Answering a question as to whether the Constituent Assembly should be convoked, Lenin said: "Yes, and as soon as possible. Yet, to be successful and to be really convoked, one condition is necessary: increase the strength of the Soviets; organize and arm the masses. Only thus can the Assembly be assured." Answering as to whether the officers must be elected by the soldiers, Lenin replied. "Not only elected, but every step of every officer and General must be subject to the control of special soldiers' committees."

This is how Lenin gained the hearing and the hearts of the Russian masses, just liberated at that time from centuries of suppression under the Czarist régime. He incited the soldiers against the officers, thereby bringing chaos and dissolution in the army, already worn out by the years of struggle against the well-organized German coalition. He insisted that the officers must be elected and controlled by the soldiers, but after the old army had been destroyed, and on its destruction he had ridden into power, he laid, through Trotsky, the foundation of the Red Army, making use of the old officers and Generals, giving

them unlimited powers in exchange for loyalty to the Bolshevik régime, and instituting an iron discipline, to be fully compared to that in the army under the Czars.

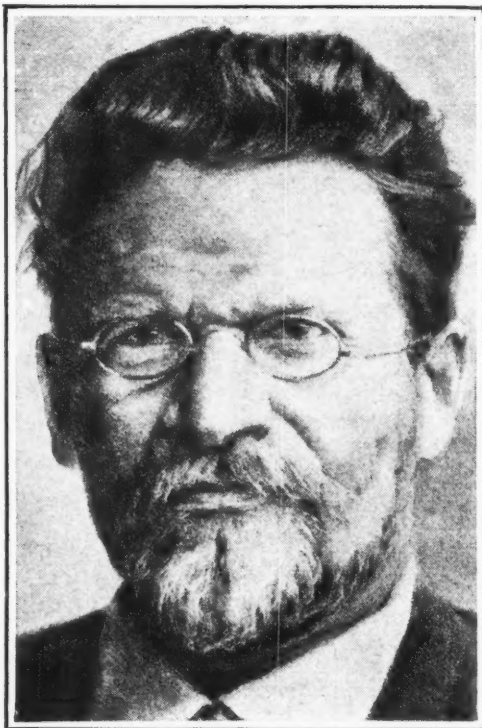
He fostered suspicion and hatred among the soldiers against the officers and among the broad masses of Russia's population against the Provisional Government. He insisted that the Constituent Assembly be convoked "as soon as possible." He wanted to arm the masses in order to assure the convocation of the Assembly, accusing the Provisional Government of delays, as if it wanted to remain in power without popular sanction. But when the masses, swept away by his demagogic agitation, sided with him, he dispersed the Constituent Assembly by bayonets within twenty-four hours, because the first Parliament of the Russian people, elected on the basis of democratic suffrage, had a majority belonging to the Kerensky Party, the Social Revolutionaries, and did not approve, therefore, the policies of Bolshevism.

#### A DUAL PERSONALITY

The Bolshevik movement can never be understood unless one conceives clearly that this is a movement in which the end justifies the means; *all means*. Throughout its entire history one clearly sees the dual personality of Bolshevism: one face for friends and another for enemies; one face before they achieve their aims, sometimes a very attractive and gracious face and another after they are entrenched in power, a cruel, fanatical, horrifying face.

Before the Bolsheviks came into power, Lenin posed as the most extreme of all Russian democrats. He wanted full and immediate power for the people, demanding, as we saw, an immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. After dispersing the Constituent Assembly the Bolshevik Government still camouflaged itself as a government of the masses. It used, and at times still uses, the expression "a government of the workers and peasants," just as the Czars of old Russia declared their rule to be not less than "by grace of God."

While announcing that they are a Government by the grace of workers and peasants, who combined represent about 90 per cent. of Russia's population, the Bolsheviks declare in the same breath that their rule is "a dictatorship of the proletariat," the proletariat constituting but about 4 per cent. of Russia's entire population. Analyzing further, we find that even the proletariat is not ruling as such, but only in so far as some of the proletarians



MIKHAIL I. KALININ

President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and of the R. S. F. S. R.

are in the membership of the Communist Party. Proletarians who do not share the Bolshevik faith, although they may be good Socialists, are as undesirable and as severely persecuted as any other "unbeliever" in Russia.

Thus we find that it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat that constitutes the Government of Russia today, but the dictatorship of the Communist Party, whose membership, in spite of all the privileges accorded to the Communists, is less than 1,000,000, the Communists thus constituting only about one-half of 1 per cent. of Russia's vast population.

Going further, we find that it is not the Communist Party that rules Russia, but the so-called Politbureau, a body of seven men. And even this Politbureau is under the domination, it seems, of a single individual, the "strong man" in Russia today, Mr. J. V. Stalin.

Such is the distance between appearances and realities in the Bolshevik rule. The result of Stalin's autocracy is such that we are witnessing now an Opposition move-

ment within the Communist Party, led by Trotsky and Zinoviev, who demand "democracy for the party." There was a time when both Trotsky and Zinoviev belonged to the small group of Russian rulers, and at that time democracy did not interest them much. But since they developed views quite different from those of Stalin, they have been getting doses of their own medicine, and they have found it very bitter.

#### AUTOCRACY AND THE OPPOSITION

It is remarkable that not only those who disagree with the gospel of Communism are absolutely and ruthlessly suppressed within the borders of Russia, but even Trotsky and Zinoviev themselves, in spite of their former glory, could not publicly explain and defend their views since they sided with the Opposition. We know of Trotsky's views only in so far as the *Pravda* or the *Izvestiya* finds it possible to quote Mr. Trotsky. A sensational and inevitable outburst of long-suppressed opinion, however, was contained in a statement by Trotsky in an interview with the Moscow

representative of the World-Wide News Service, which appeared in *The New York American* of Sept. 25, this year, and which read as follows:

During the period when the Soviet Political Bureau was under my direction we made tremendous strides toward resuming relations with other nations. I had outlined definite policies whereby Soviet Russia, in consideration for granting concessions to British, American and German industrial groups, would have within a short space of time immense funds to purchase machinery and tools in foreign markets, which Russia itself cannot manufacture.

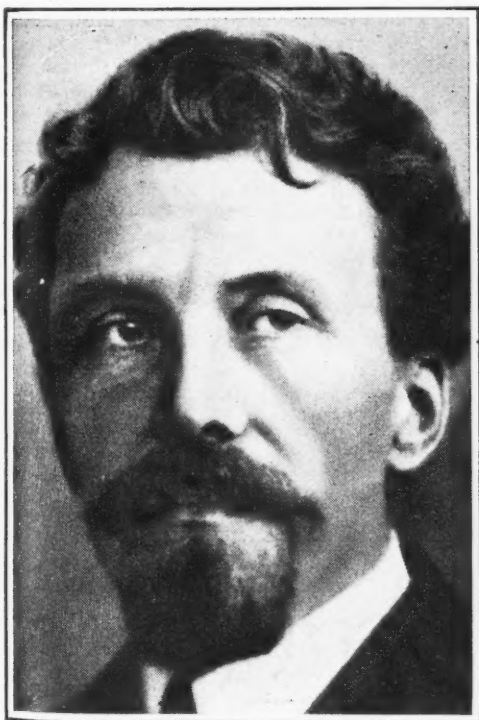
After telling how "dogmatic pinheads could not be induced to compromise, however temporarily, their iron-cast slogans with realities"; after referring further to the present rulers of Russia as "a number of dogmatists who would repeat, parrot-like, a number of slogans which had already served their ends and deserved to be relegated to the ash heap," Mr. Trotsky concludes:

We have today a strong-armed régime as ignorant of foreign psychology as the late Czarist bureaucracy. The clique of men that calls itself the Russian Government is as vicious and devoid of principle as the Czarist hirelings. Those who oppose the will of that clique are in as much danger as, and more so than, those who opposed the Czarist edicts.

This sensational interview was published, as stated above, on Sept. 25. An Associated Press despatch from Moscow, dated Sept. 30, announced the expulsion of Trotsky from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Praesidium of that body explained that Trotsky's remaining in the Communist International became "impossible because of his violent struggle against the organization by means of underground printing plants, coupled with organizing illegal centres and inciting malicious slander against Soviet Russia abroad."

The same Associated Press despatch quoted Trotsky's speech of defense, in which he emphasized the autocratic attitude of the Stalin régime in the Communist Party. "Nowadays no organization deliberates or decrees," said Trotsky, "all they do is to carry out orders." If Bolshevism leads to this sad state of affairs at the end of the first decade—a resurrection of autocracy, with Joseph Stalin at the head—the institutions of political democracy, so despised by the Bolshevik writers and leaders, seem to be sufficiently vindicated.

While the question of Trotsky's sincerity in his struggle against Stalin's régime—that is, the degree in which his personal ambition involves him in this struggle—is of



ALEXEI IVANOVICH RYKOV

Successor to Lenin as President of the Council of People's Commissars; born 1881



secondary importance, what is very important and significant is the fact that he apparently stands for closer relationships with the outside world, for a distinct *modus vivendi* between Russia and the so-called capitalist States, and for "democracy for the party."

This stand makes him and the Opposition very popular in Russia because the most vital interests of the Russian people require the establishment of a stable contact with the outside world and at least a minimum of political liberty in Russia. It is this strength and popularity, recently demonstrated at the conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, that prevented Stalin from crushing the Opposition by excluding Trotsky and his friends from the party.

#### BOLSHEVISM ISOLATED TODAY

The main fact in the Russian situation today, at the end of the decade of the Bolshevik rule, is the fact that Bolshevism stands isolated in the world as never before. The defeat in China, the termination of diplomatic relationships with Great Britain, the crisis in relationships with France, with the almost inevitable removal of Rakovsky—all this means bankruptcy of the entire Bolshevik foreign policy and of their fundamental aim, which was from the very beginning to gain domination throughout the world.

The fundamental aim of the Bolshevik upheaval in Russia in November, 1917, was to instigate a world-wide Bolshevik revolution. Lenin, educated on Marxian theory, never thought of transforming Russia, and Russia alone, with its backward economic structure, into a kingdom of Socialism. Witnessing the chaos, economic and psychological, created by the World War; the suffering and agony through which humanity was passing during the fateful years since 1914, Lenin felt certain that the upheaval in Russia under the Bolshevik banners would result in an immediate similar upheaval in Germany and throughout Europe, and then throughout the world.

This, however, did not happen. After a period of comparative chaos, when the fate of Europe hung in the balance, the instinct of self-preservation reasserted itself in the old European nations. A wonderful constructive change took place in the Franco-German relationships, the key to prosperity and stability of Europe; the Dawes plan was evolved and began operating with splendid stabilizing results. The next Bolshevik move was to stir up the masses in

the Near East, and then in the Far East, with the result that, although the Bolsheviks have substantially contributed to the instigation and the strengthening of the nationalist movements in the East, these movements turned against them and succeeded in liberating themselves almost entirely from the Bolshevik domination.

The desperate effort and the defeat in the East meant a tension and, finally, the rupture in relationships with Great Britain. Although no concerted action was taken, the attitude of Great Britain met with approval in France, in Italy and even in Germany. This diplomatic fiasco alone would have meant much for the fate of Bolshevism. Political and, consequently, economic isolation does not strengthen, as we will see further, the Bolshevik hold on the Russian nation. In this case, however, the Bolshevik régime has to deal also with the most deadly of all possible isolations, a moral isolation, in a world which by this time has discovered behind the attractive mask the real face in the Bolshevik régime.

It was the British Trade Union Congress at Edinburgh that on Sept. 8 this year dealt the Bolshevik régime a moral blow from which it can hardly recover. By a vote of 2,551,000 against 620,000 the congress decided to carry out the recommendation of its General Council, to break off relations with the governmentally controlled All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. Mr. J. R. Clynes, the well-known labor leader and a member of Parliament, said that the only element of surprise about the decision was that it had come so late. Referring to the communist participation in the protests against the then pending execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, which he considered hypocritical, and the execution of twenty "hostages" without any trial in Moscow, Mr. Clynes said: "Some of us have expressed our horror at the shooting of twenty Russians as an act of inexcusable murder. I cannot understand the mentality of those who denounce acts committed in one country and gloss them over when committed in another country. Murder is murder the whole world over." The twenty men were executed as "hostages" for the assassination of the Bolshevik Minister in Poland by a young man whom not one of the executed ever knew.

While we witness this fact of political and moral isolation of Bolshevism, we witness also the growth of Russia's need for a stable and active contact with the outside world. Therein lies the fundamental con-



tradition in the Russian situation today; a contradiction pregnant with most important possibilities; a contradiction recognized and acknowledged as a fact both by the Bolsheviks and their opponents.

#### NEED OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By the end of the decade of the Bolshevik rule the country succeeded in passing the stage of economic demoralization and chaos, which reached its height by 1921. In spite of the mismanagement and the waste of the nationalized industries, Russia's production is now approaching the pre-war level. But this very fact places before the Bolshevik Government the necessity of bringing in capital for the rebuilding of the industrial machinery, worn out during the past ten years, as well as for the establishment of new industrial units. In his report, dated Dec. 17, 1926, V. V. Quibisheff, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, made the statement that "the chief difficulty of almost all the branches of industry at present is the lack of operating capital. It is insufficient to take care of the increased program of production." Later, in his report dated March 29, 1927, Mr. Quibisheff declared: "In all the preceding years and partially in 1925-1926, the development of industry was carried through the utilization of existing reserve capital which is at present almost entirely used up."

To illustrate this situation, it is sufficient to mention that in 1925-1926 the total appropriation for industry in Russia reached 780,000,000 rubles, of which sum 88 per cent. went into re-equipment and repair of existing factories and less than 12 per cent. on new construction work.

It is also interesting to note that while in 1924-1925 the appropriation for industry amounted to 385,000,000 rubles, the increase in industrial production over the preceding year was 60 per cent.; in 1925-1926 the appropriation was increased to 780,000,000 rubles, and the increase in production over the preceding year was 40 per cent.; in 1926-1927 the appropriation reached almost 947,000,000 rubles, but the industrial production increased only 20 per cent. (All the figures quoted above are taken from V. V. Quibisheff's report, dated March 29, 1927.)

Russia's need for a generous inflow of foreign capital, sufficient to rebuild her industry, agriculture and transportation,

and to develop her tremendous and almost untouched natural resources, is recognized by all. Several years ago, Dr. Joseph M. Goldstein, a learned economist and for many years Professor of Political Economy at the University of Moscow, estimated that a total investment of about \$56,000,000,000 is needed for a period of ten years to rebuild and develop Russia's economic life on a more or less adequate scale. "Judging from the experience of the years preceding the war," wrote Professor Goldstein (*Russia: Her Economic Past and Future*, p. 91), "it may be hoped that Russia herself will produce about half this sum." He pointed out that the remainder must necessarily come from abroad, mostly from the United States. It is interesting that now, together with the other Bolshevik leaders, Mr. Trotsky speaks of the "immense funds" necessary "to purchase machinery and tools in foreign markets," thus repeating the argument of a "bourgeois" professor now living abroad.

Thus, all agree that the vital interests of Russia require the establishment of a permanent and productive contact with the outside world. Industry is more or less reestablished, but it cannot be sustained or developed only by means of national capital.

The Bolshevik régime, by its very nature, has brought Russia to a state of isolation, but it cannot stand too long between the great and gifted people, awakened to new life, and their prosperity and happiness. No one can definitely predict whether evolutionary or revolutionary processes of far-reaching nature will take place in Russia within the next few years, but one thing is certain: out of the stage of revolutionary transition, which may take some years to conclude, Russia will necessarily emerge with a democratic republican Government. Only such a Government will meet with the confidence of the outside world and will, therefore, be able to speak and act for Russia in bringing about an arrangement of economic and financial cooperation which will prove of lasting benefit to Russia and the other nations.

The developments within Russia toward the end of the decade of Bolshevik rule, as well as her position in the world and her vital interests, point to the inevitability of Russia's emerging, in the final outcome of the Revolution, as a stable democracy with capitalist economics.

# Economic Progress Under Soviet Rule

By BORIS E. SKVIRSKY

DIRECTOR OF THE SOVIET UNION INFORMATION BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D. C.

A REVIEW of the constructive achievements of the Soviet Union for the period between 1917 and 1927 becomes of necessity a review of the last five years. The period of 1917 to 1921, known as the period of so-called "War Communism," went down in history as a period of heroic defense of the revolution against enemies within and without, and a battle against famine caused by a severe crop failure in a country whose reserves had been exhausted. Only after these obstacles had been overcome was a more or less "peaceful" and "normal" reconstruction of the country on the new foundation made possible.

The words "peaceful" and "normal" are put in quotation marks because these words can be used only in a relative sense. The threat of armed intervention has been hanging over the Soviet Union to this day and the actual financial boycott is still more or less maintained. The foreign trade of the country has been developed in the face of such handicaps as the present crusade conducted in England by enemies of the Soviet Union against Soviet oil and oil products. All these circumstances weigh heavily on the economic life of the U. S. S. R. They create tension and cause the diversion of resources needed for productive development to unproductive expenditures for military and economic defense. If despite these grave obstacles the country after five years of reconstruction can show a fair balance sheet of progress, this is a good augury for the future.

The basis of the economic policy of the Soviet Government is the fullest development of the country's productive forces. Because of the type of political and economic structure other important issues enter the problem. They concern the control of developing economic forces, the relative progress of public and private enterprises, the growth of the army of industrial workers and the improvement of their standard of living, the improvement of the living conditions of the general population. All these considerations are part of the Soviet problem of development.

The economic system of the Soviet Union is twofold; two elements, socialist and capitalist, are simultaneously cooperating and fighting against each other therein. The heavy industries, transportation and credit are in the hands of the State and serve as the economic basis for socialism. The same end is served by State and cooperative trade. As bases for the capitalist element may be considered the village, more particularly the more prosperous peasantry, and in the city the private traders and factory owners. The private enterprises are developing in the usual manner, while the new economic enterprises—State and socialized—are developing in new forms, which are constantly changing and improving themselves, for it is actual experience only that will gradually work out those new forms of organization into which the productive, distributive and other functions of State economy will shape themselves.

As the tenth year of the existence of the Soviet Union draws to a close we find the economic life of the country represented by the following organizations: In the domain of production individual units of production (factories and mills) and entire groups of these, linked together by a community of productive aims, are operated and administered by so-called trusts, directed by representatives of the State, but acting as independent and responsible economic units. In their hands is concentrated the entire output of the State industries. The local industries are organized in the same manner, and it is therefore necessary to distinguish between trusts of Federal scope and those of local significance. The former are directly regulated and controlled by the Supreme Council of National Economy of the U. S. S. R., which directs and controls all the industries of the country. The local trusts are controlled by similar economic councils of the six constituent Republics forming the Union. These Supreme Economic Councils of the various Republics and their local bodies are in turn under the control of the Federal Supreme Economic Council.

Although the industrial life of the coun-

try is concentrated in the hands of the trusts, some of them are engaged in carrying out commercial functions. The usual procedure in the matter of supplying the trusts and in the sale of their output is as follows: Individual trusts within the limits of some one branch of industry are united into so-called syndicates, which are charged with functions of a purely commercial character.

Domestic trade is carried on through special State and municipal warehouses and stores, through cooperative organizations and through private traders. Trade is entirely free. The State influences the market not by means of administrative measures, but through independent commercial operations in the open market, and by exerting pressure on State and cooperative organizations.

Foreign trade is a State monopoly and is conducted either by the immediate commercial organs of the Commissariat of Trade or by special State or mixed companies. The credit facilities of the country are concentrated in special banks which constitute State property. Insurance is also one of the functions performed by the State.

The manufacturing activities of the trusts, the commercial activities of the syndicates, the trade and credit operations of various organizations are conducted on the basis of a definite plan worked out in advance and ratified by the higher bodies.

The study of the entire economy as a whole and of its separate branches constitutes the task of a special body, the State Planning Commission. Similar bodies exist in each of the constituent Republics, but their planning, of course, is confined within the limits of their own Republics. Their work is coordinated by the Federal State Planning Commission. Concretely speaking, the work of the State Planning Commission consists in the preparation of "control figures" which make it possible to ascertain the main tendencies of economic development and to outline the fundamental lines of economic policy. These "control figures" bearing upon the entire national economy of the U. S. S. R. first appeared in 1925, for the fiscal year 1925-26, and, representing the first attempt in this line, they were, naturally, imperfect. The control figures for the fiscal year 1926-27 represented a solid achievement. Recently the State Planning Commission issued a volume on the prospective development of national economy in the U. S. S. R. during the period of 1927-31. This work does not represent a ready prospective plan for five

years. It is merely, as the State Planning Commission states, guiding material for prospective planning. It gives all figures and explanations necessary for checking and substantiating the basic yearly control figures and guiding policies for the development of the national economy. The experience of actual work in this field during the past few years showed that this planning is becoming more and more concrete and real, a fact which should be considered an achievement of no little importance. Inasmuch as statistics play the main part in this kind of calculations and plans, special attention is being paid to thorough and perfected statistical research in the U. S. S. R.

#### AGRICULTURE.

According to data of the Central Statistical Administration, the sown area, in comparison with 1913, is as follows:

	*Dessiatins.
1913 .....	106,823,000
1924 .....	86,820,000
1925 .....	92,980,000
1926 .....	98,563,000
1927 .....	†102,853,000

\*A dessiatin is equal to 2.7 acres.

†Estimated.



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The cultivation of "technical" crops has been restored more rapidly than the grain crops. The gross agricultural output has grown very rapidly; the figures covering the value of agricultural output, including the products of forestry and fishing, for the fiscal year 1923-4 according to pre-war prices, amounted to 8,821,000,000 rubles (a ruble is worth 51.5 cents), and for the fiscal year 1926-27 this figure rose to 12,775,000,000 rubles. The above figures, not including the products of forestry and fishing, are respectively 7,838,000,000 rubles and 11,580,000,000 rubles.

The rate at which agriculture has developed becomes particularly striking through comparison of the fiscal year 1923-4 with the subsequent years:

(The figures for the fiscal year 1923-24 are accepted as 100)

GROSS OUTPUT—	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Plant growing.....	98.3	131.3	142.0
including grain crops	91.2	130.8	142.7
Industrial crops.....	113.6	176.2	165.7
Live stock raising....	110.1	119.2	125.0
MARKETABLE OUTPUT—			
Plant growing.....	99.1	135.4	159.0
including grain crops	68.7	95.4	139.8
Industrial crops.....	168.8	259.6	243.9
Live stock breeding...	136.1	143.9	160.9

During the fiscal year 1923-24 the grain exports amounted to 181,000,000 rubles, while for the first ten months of 1926-27 they reached the figure of 414,000,000 rubles.

The price index for agricultural products shows that on Jan. 1, 1927, they equalled 155, rising by July 1 to 158, taking the 1913 prices at 100. A tangible lowering of prices may be expected only as a result of a further application of machinery in the field of agriculture. In so far as the index of prices for manufactured articles is considerably higher than the agricultural price index (on Jan. 1, 1927, it was 203, and on July 1 it was 192), agriculture is in a disadvantageous position. The development of industry will release possibilities for greater agricultural progress.

The business of supplying the villages with agricultural machinery is developing. Domestic production as well as imports are growing. The domestic output of agricultural machinery in 1913 equalled 67,000,000 rubles, while in the fiscal year 1925-26 it reached 68,000,000 rubles, figured at pre-war prices. The importation of agricultural machinery in 1913 amounted to 49,000,000 rubles, while for the fiscal year 1925-26 this figure increased to 52,000,000 rubles. In pre-war times tractors were practically unknown in Russia, while in

1924-25 they were imported into the U. S. S. R. to the amount of 11,000,000 rubles, and in 1925-26 to the amount of 19,000,000 rubles. Thus, in 1913 the total amount of agricultural machinery produced in Russia and imported from abroad was 116,000,000 rubles, while in 1925-26 this amount reached 120,000,000 rubles, and in 1926-27 it will exceed this figure by a considerable margin. The amount for 1923-24 was only 23,000,000 rubles.

#### CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture occupies a special position in the country. The heavy industries, i. e., 80 per cent. of the entire industry, and rail and water transportation are in the hands of the State, while in agriculture the major part of the farming area and the means of production are in the hands of numerous farmers. The State can only exert an indirect influence on the productivity of these farms, and not a direct influence such as it exercises in industry and transportation, and naturally, the former is a more difficult process. Outside the private peasant farms, there are also collective farms—the Government so-called Soviet farm and the cooperative or "collective" farms (communes, artels and tillage societies), but for the time being these are playing a comparatively small part. Thus, if we were to compare the relative importance of the private, State and cooperative farms in the general agricultural output and the marketable part of it for the fiscal year 1926-27, we obtain approximately the following picture:

FARMS	PERCENTAGE	
	MARKETABLE	PRODUCTS
Private .....	97.7	94.9
State-owned .....	1.5	4.2
Cooperative .....	0.8	0.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0

However, the significance of Soviet farms, as model farms, is increasing. At present their yield per dessiatin is from 15 to 20 per cent. above that for the peasant farms. The Soviet farms also are of service to the peasants by supplying them with assorted and selected grain, seed and breeding stock. On the Soviet farms various enterprises are being established for the working of agricultural raw products.

Owing to the limited funds, the limits of State production in agriculture are not being extended for the time being. As to the cooperative enterprises, their policy is meanwhile confined to the development of



distributing and consumers' cooperatives. Comparatively little attention is being paid so far to cooperative enterprises in the field of production.

The budget figures show that the direct Government budget appropriations for agriculture for the last few years were as follows:

(In millions of rubles)			
1923-24.....	56.1	1925-26.....	162.1
1924-25.....	149.5	1926-27.....	151.5

The significance of these appropriations will be clearer if one takes into consideration the fact that the taxation imposed on the villages is considerably lighter than in pre-war times. The village knows only one tax, the so-called single agricultural tax, varying in accordance with the value of the farm. From this tax the poor farms are entirely exempt, while those yielding but a small income are allowed a reduction. The entire taxation revenue is a little above 300,000,000 rubles, of which amount two-thirds is used for local needs. Thus, the Government actually returns to the peasants all that it levies from them in the form of taxes.

#### INDUSTRY

The industry of the U. S. S. R. represents an entirely different picture from that offered by agriculture. While in the latter the element of private interest still predominates, the former is largely socialized.

The entire industrial capital (not including construction of dwellings) in the beginning of the fiscal year 1923-24 was estimated at 5,568,000,000 rubles. In 1923-24 depreciation and the requirements of fundamental repairs were approximately 265,000,000 rubles, while the new capital investments aggregated 245,000,000 rubles. The situation was such that 20,000,000 rubles out of the basic capital was used up. That year marked the turning point. Thereafter the situation began to change abruptly, and for 1924-25 the depreciation was equal to 264,000,000 rubles while new investment was 340,000,000 rubles. In 1925-26 the figures were respectively 275,000,000 rubles and 881,000,000 rubles, while for 1926-27 they were about 300,000,000 and 975,000,000 rubles.

Thus, the industrial capital stock rose toward the end of 1926-27 from 5,568,000,000 rubles to 6,655,000,000 rubles, representing an increase of over a billion rubles. Considering the fact that this was exclusively Soviet capital, that the capital of other countries is as yet participating to a very small extent in the economic recon-

struction of the U. S. S. R., the achievement is remarkable.

According to the nature of the enterprises, the industrial capital is distributed as follows:

(In millions of rubles)			
	1923-24	1926-27	
State .....	4,735	5,750	
Cooperative .....	172	197	
Private .....	661	709	

Thus, the growth of capital invested in the State industries is overwhelming as compared with that of private industrial capital.

The gross output of all industry, large as well as small, according to pre-war prices, shows a continual growth.

(In millions of rubles)			
1923-24.....	3,414	1925-26.....	6,923
1924-25.....	5,039	1926-27.....	*7,855

\*Estimated.

This output is distributed between the large industries (enterprises employing sixteen workers and more if motive power is used, or thirty persons if there is no motive power used), and the small home industries, as follows:

(In millions of rubles, estimated at pre-war prices)

	LARGE INDUSTRY		SMALL INDUSTRY	
	P. C. OF TOTAL	P. C. OF TOTAL	P. C. OF TOTAL	P. C. OF TOTAL
1923-24.....	2,627	77.0	786	23.0
1924-25.....	4,061	80.6	978	19.4
1925-26.....	5,797	83.8	1,125	16.2
1926-27*.....	6,640	84.5	1,216	15.5

\*Estimated.

If we analyze the development of separate branches of the large industries, according to quantity output in tons, pieces, and so forth, a comparison with 1913 is possible:

PRODUCTS	PERCENTAGE RATIO TO OUTPUT FOR 1913		
	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27*
1. Coal .....	55.3	86.8	105.2
3. Iron ore .....	23.8	38.1	54.5
2. Oil .....	76.4	90.2	109.7
4. Cast iron .....	31.0	55.5	70.5
5. Marten steel .....	43.8	69.3	77.5
6. Rolled steel .....	38.0	60.1	67.1
7. Cotton fabrics .....	66.5	89.1	105.4
8. Kerosene .....	70.5	86.4	94.6
9. Salt .....	57.2	73.8	102.0
10. Matches .....	85.8	106.6	110.9
11. Cigarettes .....	102.0	133.6	169.7
12. Granulated sugar...	32.2	76.4	74.9

\*Estimated; expected to be higher by the end of the year. Latest average figure for metal is 76.3.

Although some industries, notably the metallurgical industry, are still below the pre-war level, the general pace at which the

development proceeds is astonishing. Such a pace in post-war development cannot be shown by any other country.

It cannot be expected, of course, that this rapid pace will continue. The slowing up of the process was already noticeable in some branches during 1926, and in others during this year. The annual rate of progress of the large industries for the past three years follows:

	PERCENTAGE RATIO OF OUTPUT FOR PRECEDING YEAR
1924-25.....	154.6
1925-26.....	142.8
1926-27.....	114.5 (estimated)

This slowing up of the rate of industrial development is easily understood if one takes into consideration the fact that available factories and mills remaining as a legacy from the old régime have been set in operation. The further development of industry depends upon new investments of capital, that is, upon the construction of new mills and factories and the reorganization of old ones. The present industrial period in the U. S. S. R. has been called the period of reconstruction in contradistinction to the first period of restoration, which has already passed.

Industry is being electrified and reorganized in keeping with the present *living* needs. The budget expenditures for large electric construction work and repairs in 1923-24 amounted to 50,800,000 rubles, in 1924-25 to 51,600,000 rubles, in 1925-26 to 66,600,000 rubles, in 1926-27 to 95,000,000 rubles, which makes a total of 264,000,000 rubles for four years. Including expenditures out of the funds of the power plants the total for four years will be over 350,000,000 rubles. This does not include local construction. During the five years of 1922-26 the construction of regional electric power plants aggregated 246,000 kilowatts. The combined increase in power of the regional stations constructed during the one year 1926-27 will amount to 250,000 kilowatts. The plants under construction at the present time will produce power to the amount of 838,000 kilowatts.

Such constructions as the Dneprostroy Hydroelectric Station, which have recently begun, testify to the large scale on which the work is proceeding. These huge works, of course, require vast funds and inevitably raise the question of foreign credits, particularly of long term credits. These would make it possible to extend the work and to insure the continued rapid pace of development. But the important fact, not fully realized abroad, is that a progressive devel-



Wide World

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opment, though at a less rapid pace, is already assured. This is proven conclusively by the large investment of strictly Soviet funds in the so-called socialized sector of the national economy, i. e., State and co-operative enterprises. In the last three years, 1924-25 to 1926-27, inclusive, capital investments amounted to about 5,900,000,000 rubles, consisting of 3,200,000,000 rubles expended on repairs made necessary by the depreciation of the basic capital and 2,700,000,000 rubles net increase of this capital which represents 9 per cent. of the total capital funds of the socialized sector of national economy. Of these 5,900,000,000 rubles, 2,100,000,000 rubles were invested in industry and, as we already saw, about 1,100,000,000 rubles of this sum represented a net increase of the industrial capital. Most of the funds are derived from the profits of industry itself, from its depreciation funds and partly from the State budget, which draws large revenues from the industries in the form of taxes and profit sharing. The net growth of capital

tal of the other branches of socialized national economy was as follows: Transportation, 270,000,000 rubles (gross investments 1,260,000,000 rubles), electrification 250,000,000 rubles (gross investments 300,000,000 rubles), trade concerns and warehouses 520,000,000 rubles (gross investments 600,000,000 rubles), administrative and cultural institutions 320,000,000 rubles (gross investments 385,000,000 rubles), municipal economy 300,000,000 rubles (gross investments 425,000,000 rubles), State and cooperative agricultural farms 97,000,000 rubles (gross investments 142,000,000 rubles). The figures show that the Soviet economy is already built on solid foundations and is assured of a continuous growth. The problem of a market to dispose of merchandise, existing in other countries, does not exist for the U. S. S. R. There is an enormous market which expanded in comparison with pre-war times as a result of the increased cultural standards and needs of the masses, brought about by the revolution. At the present time industry is unable to satisfy fully the existing demand of the market and to supply goods at approximately pre-war prices. But it must be stated here that no country achieved this.

#### PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

That the industrialization of the Soviet Union is already yielding some results can be seen from the following data. The total output of entire pre-war Russia in 1913 was distributed as follows: Agriculture represented 64 per cent. of the output and industries 36 per cent.; in 1921-22 the agricultural output amounted to 77.2 per cent. and industry yielded the remaining 22.8 per cent.; while in 1925-26 the share of industrial output rose to 38 per cent. and for this year it is higher. Thus, the share of industry in the general output of the national economy of the U. S. S. R. is above that of pre-war Russia.

The amount expended on capital improvements in the field of heavy industries during the fiscal year 1925-26 made up 63.8 per cent. of the total new investments in industries. In 1926-27 this percentage increased to 74 per cent. Of the combined cost of all new enterprises under construction—at present amounting to 824,000,000 rubles—63.6 per cent., or 524,000,000 rubles, falls to the share of only three branches of heavy industry—metal, oil and coal. Investments in the oil industry in the three-year period of 1924-25 to 1926-27 amounted to 420,000,000 rubles, which ex-

plains the rapid progress of this industry. Investments in the coal industry for the same period amounted to 240,000,000 rubles, and in the metal industry to over 500,000,000 rubles (mostly for the work of rebuilding.)

A whole series of industries which were non-existent in pre-war Russia, have begun to establish themselves in the U. S. S. R., namely, high-power turbine construction, the production of textile machinery, the building of tractors, and so forth. We have already seen that in the manufacture of agricultural machinery the U. S. S. R. made considerable progress as compared with 1913. The same can be said with regard to the electro-technical industry.

With regard to the question of prices a campaign is being waged with the object of lowering the cost of production, and within the past few months a cost reduction of 7 to 10 per cent. has been brought about. But a sharp decline can follow only as a result of the work of industrial reconstruction, now going on, which will make possible production at lower cost.

The number of workers engaged in the large industries increases from year to year, as can be seen from the following figures:

YEAR	NUMBER OF WORKERS	PERCENTAGE RATIO TO PRECEDING YEAR
1923-24.....	1,617,500	100
1924-25.....	1,893,500	117.1
1925-26.....	2,421,800	127.9
1926-27.....	2,579,200	106.5

The fact that the gross output increases more rapidly than the number of workers engaged in industry is an indication of the growing productivity of labor. In five years labor productivity has doubled.

At the present moment the wages have exceeded the pre-war level for all industries as a whole, but in separate branches of industry, the wages are still nominally behind the pre-war level, as for instance, in the coal and metal industries where before the war wages were above the usual standard. The wages of transport workers are also behind. If we accept the average monthly wage for 1913 at 100 we get the following ratios for average wages in industry for the past ten years: 1913, 100; 1917, 73.4; 1918, 43.3; 1919, 34.9; 1920, 34.1; 1920-21, 33.3; 1921-22, 41.0; 1922-23, 49.2; 1923-24, 67.1; 1924-25, 82.6; 1925-26, 93.7; first half of 1926-27, 100, and in March, 1927, 104.4.

In reality, the situation is much better if we take into consideration the collateral gains of the workers. It is necessary to bear in mind that the universal introduc-



tion of the eight-hour workday is an achievement of the revolution. If we compare the pre-war wage per hour with the pay per hour during the post-revolutionary period, then the wage per hour for March, 1927, exceeds the wage per hour in pre-war times by almost 30 per cent.

Even this does not give an exact picture of the economic position of the working class as compared with pre-war times. Industry now bears so-called "overhead expenses for the working force" which are four times larger than before the war. These are expenditures for cultural needs, the maintenance of *crèches*, and so forth. In 1925-26 these expenditures amounted to 450,000,000 rubles, or 32 per cent. of the total amount of wages paid. Workers frequently receive living quarters free—usually at a reduced rate—and with them go so-called communal services. This frees the worker from extra expenditures for rent, heating and lighting. Social insurance helps the workers in case of temporary disability, unemployment or permanent disability. All this taken together actually raises wages. In the past two years industry spent 200,000,000 rubles on the construction of workers' homes, of which there is a great need in the Soviet Union. The workers are receiving yearly two weeks' vacation, which they usually spend in special homes of rest. They also enjoy the privilege of working shorter hours before holidays and there is a shorter workday for adolescents. Many of these things were unknown in pre-war Russia. The vacations take up 4.5 per cent. of the total wages paid and the shortened hours on the eve of holidays constitute 4 per cent. of the wages. If we add to the wages all additional expenditures borne by the industries for the benefit of the workers in individual branches of industry, then the average wage, as compared with pre-war times, would amount to 152 per cent in the textile industry, 163 per cent. in the paper industry, 171 per cent. in food production and 176 per cent. in the chemical industry.

The membership in trade unions is close to 10,000,000, having increased by nearly 4,000,000 in the past three years. Relations between workers and employers are fixed by collective agreements.

#### DOMESTIC TRADE

What was the trade turnover in the U. S. S. R. during the last few years? Is there any strengthening of socialized enterprise noticeable in this field, or is the latter be-



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ing supplanted by private capital? The following table will answer this question:

#### PERCENTAGE RATIO OF TRADE TURNOVER

YEAR	STATE	Co- OPERATIVE	TOTAL STATE AND Co- OPERATIVE	PRIV- ATE
1923-24.....	31.0	28.2	59.2	40.8
1924-25.....	35.5	37.5	73.0	27.0
1925-26.....	35.0	41.0	76.0	24.0
1926-27*.....	34.0	44.0	78.0	22.0

\*Estimated.

The private traders, whose turnover in absolute figures does not decrease, but on the contrary increases, are gradually receding to the background, as compared with the growth of State and cooperative trade. This takes place in both wholesale and retail trade, more rapidly in the former. The share of the private wholesale trade has been reduced from 22 per cent. in 1923-24 to only 9 per cent. of the total wholesale trade in 1926-27. Private retail trade has been reduced to 38.8 per cent. in 1925-26 from 58.6 per cent. in 1923-24.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign commerce of the Soviet Union is developing steadily, but not as rapidly as domestic trade. Owing to vari-



ous handicaps it is still only half of the pre-war figure, in a territory with a population 80 per cent. of that of the former Russian Empire. The turnover is shown by the following figures:

1913.....	\$1,490,495,000	1924-25..	\$666,925,000
1922-23..	199,300,000	1925-26..	733,130,400
1923-24..	484,910,000		

For nine months of the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1927, the turnover was \$557,693,500, with a favorable balance of \$38,676,500. For the same period of the previous year it was \$554,603,500, with an adverse balance of \$47,431,500.

The Soviet Union exports chiefly agricultural products, but industrial exports are increasing. Oil products are being exported to a considerably larger extent than was the case before the war. The export of wheat is smaller, as Czarist Russia used to export wheat at the expense of consumption on the part of the peasant population. Domestic consumption of wheat is well above the pre-war level.

The imports consist chiefly of raw material for industrial needs and also of agricultural machinery and machine equipment for the reorganization of certain branches

of industry. In so far as the development of imports depends upon the growth of exports, the advance will be gradual. The extent of foreign trade credits will be a large factor.

#### RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION

The length of the network of railroads in the present territory of the Soviet Union exceeds that of pre-war time. This year is expected to add another 2,000 kilometers of railroad tracks. In addition construction of a new line of 1,400 kilometers has begun. It will cost 140,000,000 rubles and will connect the Siberian grain regions with the cotton belt of Turkestan. This progress is the more notable when one considers that one-fourth of the railway mileage was destroyed during the World War and the civil conflicts.

During the fiscal year 1925-26 both passenger and freight traffic surpassed the pre-war figures, and in the present year a further decided gain is indicated. During the past three years the railways have been operated at a net profit, though this profit goes to cover the deficit in the operation and extension of ports, waterways and highways.

#### CREDIT

The financial and credit system of the U. S. S. R. has shown marked progress for the past few years. The chervonets (equal to 10 rubles or \$5.15), established in the Spring of 1924, backed by gold and commercial paper securities to its full value, proved stable, and former calculations in millions of rubles to the dollar became a legend of the past. Soviet currency has been on a gold basis for over three years.

The State Bank of the U. S. S. R., restored in November, 1921, has become, owing to its resources, one of the most powerful banks of world magnitude. It recently increased its capital from 10,000,000 to 25,000,000 chervontzy (\$125,000,000). On June 1, 1927, the bank's surplus was equal to 53,000,000 rubles and the undivided profits to 36,000,000 rubles. The State Bank has about 500 branches throughout the Soviet Union, and in addition to its functions connected with the issue of currency, bank notes, and so forth, participates largely in financing the economic activities of the country. The current accounts, deposits and savings accounts of the State Bank in 1913 amounted to 1,049,300,000 rubles. In 1922-23 the aggregate of these items was equal to 73,600,000 rubles, while



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on June 1, 1927, this total amounted to 1,303,000,000 rubles.

The combined balance of practically the entire credit system of the U. S. S. R. gives the following comparative data: The balance as of Oct. 1, 1923, was 1,079,000,000 rubles, and as of Oct. 1, 1926, it was 6,350,000,000 rubles. Discount and loan operations, as of Oct. 1, 1923, amounted to 538,000,000 rubles, as of Oct. 1, 1926, to 3,400,000,000 rubles, and as of September, 1927, 4,844,000,000 rubles. The banks' own resources, as of Oct. 1, 1923, aggregated 156,000,000 rubles, while on Oct. 1, 1926, they equaled 815,000,000 rubles, including capital stock and reserve capital of 590,000,000 rubles, special reserve of 60,000,000 rubles and profit of 165,000,000 rubles. In September, 1927, the capital reached 1,064,000,000 rubles. Deposits and current accounts increased from 227,000,000 rubles in 1923 to almost a billion and a half rubles at the end of 1926-27. This combined balance of the credit system includes the operations of the State Bank, of six commercial banks, two cooperative banks, of the system of communal credits, of agricultural credits, including the Agricultural Credits Society (but excluding the figures for the local societies), and the mutual credit associations.

Savings banks numbered 7,074 in 1913. In 1922 their number dropped to 88, while on Jan. 1, 1927, there were 14,819. The number of depositors in 1913 was 7,459,000; in 1922 it was 19,000, and on May 1, 1927, the number had grown to 1,804,000. The amount of the deposits in 1913 aggregated 1,403,000,000 rubles. It declined to 1,000,000 rubles in 1922 and rose by May 1, 1927, to 146,000,000 rubles. Here we see the effects of war, revolution and civil war.

The internal Government debt increased from 59,000,000 rubles in 1922-23 to 889,000,000 on May 1, 1927. Considering the vast size of the country, this debt is negligible. It is proposed to float this year two additional loans of 200,000,000 rubles each for industrial development.

#### THE BUDGET

The structure of the Soviet budget is complex. The federal budget and the budgets of the six constituent republics are combined. In addition the system of local budgets is connected with the State budget in regard to both revenues and expenditures. The growth of the federal budget can be seen from the following data:

	Rubles		Rubles
1913.....	3,605,000,000	1925-26...	4,039,000,000
1923-24...	2,298,000,000	1926-27...	5,002,000,000
1924-25...	2,931,000,000		

In pre-war rubles the budget for 1926-27 is almost equal to that of 1913.

The local budgets have grown from the total of 689,000,000 rubles in 1923-24 to over a billion and a half rubles in 1926-27. The local budgets are increasing more rapidly than the federal budget. The increase of the budget before this year was to a considerable extent based on the growth of tax revenues. In 1922-23 these revenues equaled 475,000,000 rubles, and in 1926-27 they exceeded 2,300,000,000 rubles. In relation to other sources of revenue, those from transport, posts, forests and State industry, they are now falling back.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note the increase of the budgetary returns from industry, trade, banking and concessions: In 1923-24 the receipts amounted to 48,000,000 rubles, in 1925-26 they rose to 219,000,000 rubles, and for the current year they are expected to approximate 300,000,000 rubles. The expenditures for the country's defense, in spite of the war danger, are considerably below the pre-war level. The expenditure in 1926-27 makes up 15.2 per cent., while in 1913 it was 27.2 per cent. For the needs of industry, agriculture, cooperation, electrification, construction, municipal credits, extension of transportation and communication the budget appropriated 537,300,000 rubles in 1924-25 and 777,400,000 rubles in 1925-26, while for this year the appropriation reached 1,137,500,000 rubles. Taking the budget appropriations for financing the national economy of the Union in 1924-25 at 100, the respective figures for 1925-26 and 1926-27 will be 145.7 and 221.7. Before the war the expenditure for the economic needs amounted to only 4.6 per cent. of the entire budget, while in the current year this appropriation has risen to 22.4 per cent. Among other things, the appropriation for cultural needs amounted to 120,000,000 rubles in 1923-24, while in 1926-27 it was proposed to exceed 250,000,000 rubles. If we take jointly the State and local budgets, it will appear that the total expended on cultural needs in 1923-24 was upward of 400,000,000 rubles, while for 1926-27 it was proposed to spend for this purpose over 700,000,000 rubles. The budget appropriations for cultural needs are 14 per cent. higher than in pre-war times.

The chief financial accomplishment of the Soviet Union has been a balanced budget without resort to paper issues. This year there is a reserve of about 100,000,000 rubles.

A very large part, indeed, is played by the cooperative organizations in the Soviet



MIKHAIL PAVLOVICH TOMSKY  
Head of the Soviet Trade Unions

Union. The socialization of production in the villages will be accomplished by means of cooperation, and the distribution of the products will also be concentrated in the hands of the cooperative organizations. The latter enjoy in the U. S. S. R. the material support of the Government and its protection. The local consumers' cooperative societies in 1923-24 had a membership of 7,129,000 with a share capital of 16,000,000 rubles. In 1926-27 the membership increased to 12,000,000 and the share capital to 66,000,000 rubles. This represents an increase of 70 per cent. in membership and 315 per cent. in share capital. The local agricultural cooperative societies on Oct. 1, 1924, consisted of 25,800 units with a combined membership of 2,056,500. In 1927 the number of these cooperative societies increased to over 40,000 and the membership to over 7,500,000. The increase of the number of cooperative societies equals 56 per cent. and the increase of membership 250 per cent. These 40,000 cooperative societies are united into unions (associations), but apart from them there are still more than 20,000 cooperative societies which do not enter into any combinations. Thus, the total number of local agricultural cooperative societies is

over 60,000. There are also upwards of 12,000 cooperative handicraft societies with an aggregate membership of over 600,000. The annual turnover of the cooperative societies is now counted in billions of rubles. The importance of their participation in the country's economic life is obvious.

#### CONCESSIONS

Concessions have not yet played a prominent part in the economic life of the U. S. S. R., but with the increasing development in cooperation between the U. S. S. R. and foreign capital they are expected to gain in importance. Governmental revenues from concessions in 1925-26, exclusive of taxes, were only 10,000,000 rubles. The total number of various concessions at the end of 1926 was 144, including over forty industrial concessions, twenty-five mining and thirty-six commercial. The number of concessions for this year is somewhat larger. The largest of them are the Harriman concession on the Chiatara manganese deposits, the coal and oil Japanese concession in Sakhalin, the Lena gold fields (minerals and metals), the Krupp agricultural concession, and several timber concessions. Recently a concession was granted for the construction of electric machine works in Yaroslavl. It will require of the concessionnaires—the Swedish firm Asea—an investment of from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 rubles and the employment of 1,500 to 2,000 workers. The total capital invested in concessions on Oct. 1, 1926, was 81,500,000 rubles. Of this the share of foreign concession investments amounted to 47,300,000, that is 57 per cent. of the total. The remainder was invested by Soviet organizations in mixed concession enterprises. The number of workers employed in concession enterprises is 54,000, including 25,000 employed permanently.

#### NATIONAL WEALTH AND INCOME

According to the latest preliminary calculations of the national wealth in uniform prices of the year 1925-26, the total wealth in October of 1924 amounted to 55,144,500,000 rubles. Land as nationalized does not enter into these calculations. The total sum is distributed as shown in Table No. 1.

The growth in percentage to the totals in uniform prices of 1925-26 of each preceding year in all branches of national economy is as shown in Table No. 2, which shows a continuous growth more rapid in most branches and slower in others.

Table No. 3 shows the distribution of the resources mentioned among the State, cooperative and private owners, and also the

TABLE NO. 1—NATIONAL WEALTH

	In rubles.
1. Agriculture .....	23,020,800,000
2. Industry .....	6,647,200,000
3. Power plants (large).....	234,800,000
4. Transport .....	10,785,100,000
5. Trade and warehouse facilities.....	404,500,000
6. Administration, public health, education.....	1,374,300,000
7. Municipal economy.....	2,246,400,000
8. Housing (urban) .....	10,219,100,000

TABLE NO. 2—PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

	1924-25. Per cent.	1925-26. Per cent.	1926-27. Per cent.
Total national wealth.....	2.2	3.7	4.6
1. Agriculture .....	4.59	4.63	4.3
2. Industry .....	0.5	7.4	9.8
3. Power plants (large).....	15.5	21.3	44.1
4. Transport .....	..	0.7	1.9
5. Trade and warehouse facilities.....	34.8	32.7	28.5
6. Administration, public health, education.....	4.6	7.4	9.0
7. Municipal economy.....	0.1	2.5	2.8
8. Housing (urban) .....	..	..	1.3

TABLE NO. 3—DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

	Total, Oct., 1924. in rubles.	1924-25. Per cent.	1925-26. Per cent.	1926-27. Per cent.
State .....	27,114,900,000	0.3	3.2	5.1
Cooperative societies .....	511,600,000	21.5	17.7	23.9
Private owners .....	27,518,000,000	3.6	3.9	3.8

TABLE NO. 4—INCOME OF THE SOVIET POPULATION IN RUBLES

	1923-24	1925-26
1. Agricultural population .....	6,910,000,000	10,500,000,000
Including hired workers.....	264,000,000	417,000,000
2. Non-agricultural (urban) population.....	4,340,000,000	8,007,000,000
a. Wage workers .....	2,450,000,000	5,407,000,000
b. Rest of population.....	1,890,000,000	2,600,000,000
Total.....	11,250,000,000	18,507,000,000
This includes wage workers.....	2,714,000,000	5,824,000,000

percentage of growth corresponding to the preceding table.

During the first two years the pace of the growth of that part of the national wealth which was privately owned was faster than for the part in possession of the State and cooperative enterprises. In 1926-27 the situation is beginning to change. The total national wealth in 1926-27, in prices of 1925-26, amounted to 61,549,687,125 rubles, which represents an increase in national wealth of 6,405,187,125 rubles in three years.

The revolution has placed a distinct imprint on the distribution of national income. The nationalization of land, large industries, transport and credit institutions have naturally had a decisive influence, as shown in Table No. 4.

The total income of the population in the

course of three years increased 65 per cent. If one takes into consideration the lowering of the purchasing power of the chervonets, which took place during that period, this percentage should be reduced to between 51 and 52. This year is expected to show an increase of well over 60 per cent. The preliminary figures show an income of over twenty billion.

The statistical data cited above show that in five years of comparative normality, following five years of exhausting struggle against acute disintegrating conditions, the Soviet Union has made decided progress. On the tenth anniversary of the revolution the country has reason to look forward hopefully, always with the realization that the main constructive task still lies ahead.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September, 1927.



# The Soviet's Economic Dilemma

By S. N. PROKOPOVICZ

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW; FORMER MINISTER OF SUPPLY IN THE RUSSIAN PROVISIONAL (KERENSKY) GOVERNMENT

IN order to understand the economic development of the first ten years of Soviet Russia, one must remember that serfdom did not end until 1861 and that after their emancipation the peasants were poor and wretched, deprived of education and uncultivated; that towns and railways were only slightly developed and that agriculture was still like that of the Middle Ages. The Russian people had before them the enormous task of introducing European forms of economic life, developing the national productive forces and adopting the ways of modern civilization. During the first decades after the liberation of the serfs attention was devoted to the work of providing the peasants with agricultural equipment, teaching the people to read and write, and building the first railways. It was not till about 1890, with the advent of a new generation, that we saw the beginnings of industry on a large scale, improvement of the peasants' farms and the growth of social and intellectual activity among the people. Then came the first political movement of the Russian workers and peasants in the years 1905-1906, the suppression of which was unable to stop the forward march of Russian democracy. Between 1908 and 1913 there was great economic progress, but the outbreak of war in 1914 suspended this growth of the productive forces and of the cultural development of the Russian people.

The war led to the first revolution in 1917, which destroyed the autocracy, the privileges of the upper classes and the political power of the nobility and bureaucracy. Then followed the Bolshevik revolution, which brought uppermost the problem of the struggle against the capitalist system and the power of the bourgeoisie. Why should this problem be so important for rural Russia, which was suffering chiefly from the primitive character of its agriculture, overpopulation, industrial backwardness and lack of railways? If we remember the economic and social organization in the beginning of the twentieth century we see at once that the social problems which agitated and still agitate the proletariat of capitalist countries like Great Britain, France and Germany were abso-

lutely alien to rural Russia with its undeveloped industry, its rudimentary town life and its scanty industrial proletariat. The establishment of communism was not a wise step toward the economic and cultural growth of the Russian people, but quite foreign in character and without any relation to the real needs of Russian democracy and social development. In borrowing from Europe its economic system and civilization Russia also adopted Europe's social ideology. In the time of Herzen, that is to say from 1840 onward, the most advanced elements of the Russian intelligentsia considered socialism as the last word of European civilization, and when the revolution took place the most active sections of the Russian democracy were inevitably attracted to socialism. In Western Europe there had long been much talk about socialism, but the Russian democracy, full of new strength, unfortunately resolved to put it into practice.

The first six months after the Bolshevik revolution were occupied by the Soviet power in taking possession of the administrative machinery and the territory of the country. Only in the Spring of 1918 was announcement made of the formula of the system which was to be translated into reality and which in the following year was definitely developed in the new program of the Russian Communist Party. Yet the Communist conception that Lenin's imagination framed was not clearly defined. In an outline of the program he presented to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party at the beginning of March, 1918, he declared that the Bolshevik revolution had established in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the industrial workers and poor peasants must bring about the realization of communism, the fundamental principle of which was, according to him, "From every one according to his capacities, to every one according to his needs." Communism, therefore, necessitated the planning of the production and distribution of goods, and the abolition of markets and market relations between separate undertakings. The people were to "break with the damned past which accustomed them to consider getting

bread and clothes as a 'private' business, and buying and selling as a matter which 'concerns only me.'" This struggle, which had, Lenin held, a universal meaning, was one of social obligation as against the anarchic elementary forces of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin's abstract scheme was developed during 1918-21 in an extremely interesting system which represented the first attempt to adopt Communist ideas on a large scale embracing a whole State. Although the Communist efforts met with obstinate resistance, the new system was partly brought into existence, but with the result that the more it developed the weaker the productive forces became. Lenin finally saw the mistake, and at the Communist Congress in Moscow in 1921 he proposed to renounce it and adopt the New Economic Policy. Recognizing that Russia's peasants and workmen were in a position of extreme poverty, ruin, overfatigue and exhaustion, he declared that increased production was absolutely imperative. That he was right was proved by the figures showing how the productivity of the factories and farms had fallen during three years of Communist policy. Indignation and discontent had become rife throughout the nation, and particularly among the peasants.

#### LENIN'S ADMISSIONS

A truthful account of the results of Communist policy was given by Lenin in a speech at the Second Congress on questions of political education in October, 1921, when he admitted that the Soviet Government had made a mistake in trying to bring about the immediate establishment of Communist production and distribution. The peasants, according to the distribution plan, had been reckoned on to furnish the needed quantity of bread which would be distributed among the industrial workers, but the plan did not work. "I regret it," Lenin added, "because our experience, which is not very long, proves to us that our conception was wrong. Our New Economic Policy means that in applying our former methods we suffered a defeat and had to begin a strategic retreat. Let us retreat and reconstruct everything in a new and solid manner; otherwise we shall be beaten. \* \* \* The defeat we suffered by the Spring of 1921 on our economic front was more serious than that we had ever before suffered when fighting against Kolchak, Denikin and Pilsudski. The system of distribution in the villages and the immediate application of Communist methods in the

towns held back our productive forces and caused the great economic and political crisis we met in the Spring of 1921." At the same time Lenin learned that there was no such thing in Soviet Russia as a town proletariat existing as a separate class, but he did not wish to get to the bottom of the trouble. He was not courageous enough to confess that Communist ideas cannot be translated into economic organization.

Lenin finally saw the necessity of the organizing and creative forces of markets and market relations, and therefore proposed that the retreat to the principle of individual interest in one's own production should first be applied to the peasants and then to industry. Nor was he afraid that the New Economic Policy would bring about the growth of a capitalist system, which would later become a danger to the Communist Party, his reason being that the landowners and bourgeoisie had been deprived of their property, since the land had been nationalized; the Government had a monopoly of the heavy industries, transportation and foreign trade; while private enterprises were controlled by the Government, which was in the hands of the working class. Thus Lenin in 1921 called upon the Communists to revive the capitalist system, though only within certain limits. The system that was to be created in accordance with the New Economic Policy he called "State capitalism" because it was not really based upon Socialist principles in the organization of production and distribution. The principal features were these:

1. While Communist ideas prevailed, the Communist Party sought support in an alliance of the proletariat and the poorest peasants; the New Economic Policy changed this by concentrating attention on the middle class peasants.

2. In May, 1918, the Communists considered market relations between separate undertakings as an evil, but in March, 1921, Lenin recognized in the market a basis for the development of the productive forces.

3. Since market relations involve personal interest in the results of production, there had to be a return to the wage system, higher rates of pay for skilled workmen and engineers, and recognition of the peasants' property rights in their products.

4. Under the New Economic Policy principles of planning acquired an entirely different character from those under the Communist policy, that is, purely economic and not technical.

5. Since the organizers of capitalist factories and trusts were Communists, workmen and Soviet employes, and since they lacked the knowledge and skill required in modern industry, their enterprises suffered accordingly.

6. The absence from this capitalist organization of actual capitalists had as a further consequence the non-existence of the legal and political conditions which are necessary for the growth of productive forces and development of an up-to-date national economy, thus depriving industry of its real vitality.

As evidence of economic conditions under the Soviet régime let us first consider the statistics of cultivated land:

## CULTIVATED FIELDS

	Millions of dessiatins	Pctg.		Millions of dessiatins	Pctg.
1913	87.1	100.0	1921	58.3	66.9
1916	79.0	90.7	1922	49.3	56.6
1917	79.4	91.2	1923	61.7	70.8
1918	...	...	1924	67.6	77.6
1919	56.6	68.4	1925	72.4	83.1
1920	63.0	72.3	1926	76.6	87.9

These figures show that agriculture declined until 1922, that is, during the period of Communist policy, the decrease in cultivation amounting to 34.6 per cent. During the following four years, under the New Economic Policy, there was an increase of 31.3 per cent.

## CONDITION OF INDUSTRY

Statistical information regarding the heavy industries is more precise than that relating to the agriculture, but here also we discover some contradictions:

	Number of Workmen Employed, in Thousands		Gross Production in Millions of Rubles, According to 1913 Prices	Productivity per Work- man
		Pctg.	Pctg.	Pctg.
1913	2,522.0	100.0	5,621.4	100.0
1916	2,926.0	114.7	6,813.4	121.5
1917	3,024.3	118.5	4,344.1	77.3
1918	2,486.0	97.4	1,941.4	34.5
1919	2,035.3	79.8	1,447.7	25.8
1921	1,306.7	51.2	1,161.7	20.7
1922-3	1,339.1	52.5	1,980.3	35.2
1923-4	1,497.5	58.7	2,530.2	45.0
1924-5	1,850.5	72.5	3,957.8	70.4
1925-6	2,347.9	92.0	5,745.5	102.2

For the last four years the average productivity per workman is that given by the statistics of the Supreme Council of National Economy. In 1926-27 it attained 97.1 of the pre-war figure. On April 1, 1927, the number of the unemployed was 1,477,900. The table shows that during the revolution the heavy industries suffered more

than did agriculture. Thus, the quantity of uncultivated land during the worst year, 1922, diminished to 43.4 of the pre-war figure, while the production of the heavy industries in 1920-21 diminished 82.6. The cause was the nationalization of the heavy industries so as to permit the Communists to carry out their ideas—with ruinous results. On the other hand, that was impossible in the case of the twenty millions of peasants' holdings, the Communists having to use other methods, such as requisitioning agricultural products. Industry was ruined by handing over the management to factory committees, by abandoning economic methods and by paying the workmen on an equal basis which robbed them of their interest in greater productivity.

After the adoption of the New Economic Policy the factories were managed along the lines of economic efficiency by experts and technicians, and the workmen began to receive wages according to results. The most considerable increase in productivity took place in 1921-22 and 1924-25. In 1921-22 payment by results was restored and in 1924-25 Dzerzhinsky, who in the Spring of 1924 had become the Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, undertook with all his energy the task of increasing production. The results were striking, especially in the factories where the piece-work system was introduced. The percentage of workmen receiving piece-work wages increased from 41.5 in March, 1923, to 58.3 in March, 1925. But the quality of the work suffered seriously from this rigorous pressure on the workmen, since a high level of labor productivity cannot be attained without several decades of intensive effort.

Under the Soviet administration the greater part of the national capital was dissipated. The restoration of machinery in those factories in which work came to an end and which are still in a backward condition was scarcely possible after the machinery was either destroyed or rendered useless. Under the Communist policy in 1918-20, when the economic efficiency in factory management was ignored, no thought was given to repairs or depreciation. The capital inherited from the old régime was wasted and the needs of the future were neglected. After the adoption of the New Economic Policy attention was again devoted to the restoration of machinery and equipment, but the allowances for depreciation were insufficient. There was, indeed, no way of providing for deprecia-



tion, inasmuch as the factories produced no profits and were supported by the credit of the State Bank.

Railroad freights usually show the state of national production, so that considerable importance attaches to the following figures of the number of freight cars loaded daily and the amount of freight carried:

	Number of Freight Cars	Amount of Freight, in millions	
		Pctg.	Pctg.
1913	33,000	100	100
1920-1	.....	..	34.8
1921-2	9,939	30.1	38.0
1922-3	11,683	35.4	57.8
1923-4	13,323	40.4	66.4
1924-5	17,401	52.7	82.9
1925-6	24,007	72.7	116.7
1926-7 (Oct.-Mch.)	27,489	83.3	66.9
			85.3

These figures show that things were at their worst in 1920-21. Even since the New Economic Policy came into operation restoration has progressed slowly and intermittently and in the face of hostile tendencies. In this connection the foreign trade situation is of great interest:

	In Millions of Pre-War Rubles.			
	Imports	Pctg.	Exp'ts	Pctg.
1913	1,374	100	1,520	100
1920-1	201	14.6	10	0.7
1921-2	276	20.1	61	4.0
1922-3	148	10.8	133	8.7
1923-4	208	15.1	340	22.4
1924-5	356	25.9	320	21.1
1925-6	415.2	30.2	415.2	27.3
1926-7 (9 months)	303.1	29.4	376.4	33.1
				73.3

Russia is no longer a source of supply for grain and raw materials to Western and Central Europe and is no longer able to purchase European products. The balance of trade shown in the table is not in accordance with the real state of things. During the last few years goods smuggled into Russia have amounted in value to between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 rubles per annum. Thus, there was only one fruitful year, 1923-24, without a deficit; the balance is considerably on the wrong side for all the other years.

#### FINANCIAL STABILITY

Only in the financial administration and the currency situation has the Soviet Government achieved any considerable success in its economic policy. If we regard the railways and posts and telegraphs as independent economic undertakings and include in the State budget only their balances and not their complete revenues and expenditures, as is done by the Commissariat of Finance, and also exclude the sums assigned

to the local budget, we find the budget as follows in millions of rubles:

	Chervontsy (rubles)	Pre-War Rubles
1922 (9 months).....	.....	537.0
1922-3 .....	856.2	764.5
1923-4 .....	1,452.2	849.2
1924-5 .....	1,860.4	1,039.3
1925-6 .....	2,463.6	1,324.5
1926-7 (estimate).....	3,177.0	1,765.0

We may also compare the increase in the State budget with the figures showing the general economic condition of the nation during the last years:

	Agriculture	Industry	Railways	Budget
1921-2	100	100	100	100
1922-3	135.4	153.4	152.1	106.8
1923-4	140.3	196.0	174.7	118.6
1924-5	149.6	306.7	216.1	145.2
1925-6	155.4	445.2	241.5	185.0
1926-7	156.4	...	276.7	246.5

The budget until 1926-27 always remained behind the growth of the national income, but skilled financial administration proved successful, so that the most difficult form of taxation—the issue of banknotes—which made up half the budget in 1922 has no place in the present Soviet budget. The largest amount of revenue is raised by indirect taxation, as it always is in poor countries like Russia. In the first nine months of 1926-27 the income from excise duties was 435,800,000 rubles, so that vodka becomes the principal item in the Soviet budget. With the ending of the paper currency inflation a new and stable currency was created with the chervonets as the unit. The amount of currency in millions of pre-war rubles on Jan. 1 of each of the years mentioned was as follows:

1914.....	2,403	1922.....	96
1917.....	2,421	1923.....	109
1918.....	1,177	1924.....	216
1919.....	266	1925.....	463
1920.....	65	1926.....	692
1921.....	44	1927.....	798

Currency and volume of trade usually depend upon each other. The above table again demonstrates that 1921 marked the farthest point in Russia's economic retrogression; later the demand for money began to increase, without there being any reason to fear inflation, since the issue of banknotes is strictly limited. Taking into consideration that there is no deficit in the Soviet budget, we may conclude that the only danger to the chervonets is a very unfavorable trade balance or war.

Thus the New Economic Policy initiated Russia's economic restoration, bringing about a steady increase in productivity as



well as in the public income. The real cause of this increase is not any novel principle inherent in the New Economic Policy, but the abandonment of Communist ideas. Those ruinous ideas are already discarded for the most part, so that the purpose of the New Economic Policy is accomplished and its possibilities entirely worked out. Still more, the internal contradictions between the results obtained and the aims and tasks on account of which the new system was introduced are now clear. Nevertheless, we must recognize that during the period of 1921-27 the New Economic Policy has produced real results. Industries using machinery employed before the revolution have been restored to the extent of about 70 or 80 per cent., but further development demands an influx of new capital from outside. If this capital is not obtained there will inevitably be a stoppage in the development of industry and transportation. Only agriculture, carried on by the 22,000,000 peasant holders, can hope to expand.

While the Communists after the revolution in November, 1917, pursued their purposes and again after the New Economic Policy was adopted, European and American capitalists and engineers carried on business. But between Russian and European, and still more between Russian and American methods there is an enormous difference. According to the declarations of the Soviet economists, abandonment of the foreign trade monopoly is impossible, because that would lead to the complete destruction of Soviet industry, which is absolutely incapable of competing with foreign production. Moreover, seven years' experience has shown that the Soviet economic organization does not permit of the accumulation of new capital. Deposits of private persons in three principal banks—in Russia now there are only five banks—on June 1, 1927, represent only 26,100,000 rubles and deposits in the savings banks 150,700,000 rubles. Therefore, in order to satisfy the demand for manufactured goods and to maintain the social and political

influence of the Russian proletariat, the Soviet Government must do its utmost to end the present crisis. The issue, in short, is that of help by capitalist countries through an influx of capital from them.

In introducing the New Economic Policy, Lenin recognized the organizing and creative power of markets and competition, but the Communist Party by maintaining its political authority, has continually hindered the development of this creative power. Its bureaucratic control and monopoly of industry, transportation, credit and foreign trade strangle the economic life of the Russian people, preventing them from developing that feeling of personal responsibility for their own economic progress which distinguishes an efficient American or European from a contemplative Asiatic.

The question of the investment of the foreign capital in Soviet Russia is only part of the problem of creating sound conditions for economic development. As long as the Soviet bureaucracy hinders the setting up of a sound economic system, foreign capital will not flow into Russia; if it did, it would be useless, for capital cannot work productively while industry and trade are not free and capable of initiative. A people deprived of personal rights and under the control of administrative arbitrariness can develop only inferior and rudimentary economic forms. Modern industry, being a superior form, needs a corresponding environment of civilized life. The maintenance of State capitalism destines Russian industry to stagnation, the towns to decreasing importance, the working classes to decay and dissolution, and the whole country to rustication. This outlook, inevitable while the present economic system exists, makes it indispensable for the self-preservation of the Soviet Government that it adopt an economic system which will permit of the growth of private initiative and the spirit of enterprise by bringing about the establishment of a legal order in the country.

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA.



# The Opposition Battle in the Russian Communist Party

By V. I. TALIN (S. Ivanovich)

ONE OF THE OLDEST MEMBERS AND LEADERS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE dramatic expulsion on Sept. 30, 1927, of Leon Trotsky and M. Vuyovich, from the executive body of the Communist International, was the culmination of a long struggle between the Opposition elements within the Communist Party in Russia, headed by Trotsky, and Joseph Stalin, M. Bukharin and the Central Communist Committee. Until the death of Lenin in January, 1924, Trotsky had been, next to Lenin, the greatest power in the Soviet. But eventually the more radical forces led by Stalin were met with the development of an Opposition movement, which Trotsky later joined and led, together with Zinoviev, Pyatakov, Kamenev and Sokolnikov.

The Opposition movement within the Russian Communist Party began almost with the first days following the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. After the overthrow of Nov. 7, 1917, the wildest forms of anarchy prevailed. Seeing the catastrophic collapse of the whole country, eleven members of the Soviet of People's Commissars, among them its present President, A. Rykov, demanded in the middle of November, 1917, "a Socialist Government of educated men made up of all Soviet parties. \* \* \* We believe," they wrote in their pronouncement, "that outside of this there is only one solution—the maintenance of a purely Bolshevik Government by means of political terror. The Soviet of People's Commissars has already begun to adopt that method. \* \* \* We see that that leads to disqualifying proletarian mass organizations from taking part in the shaping of political life, to the establishment of an irresponsible régime and to revolution throughout the country. \* \* \* We cannot assume responsibility for this policy and therefore we place in the hands of the Central Executive Committee our resignation of our title of the People's Commissars."

The Opposition of that period, however, soon died down. The events themselves, their terrible elemental power, were mightier than the human element, and there was no possibility of retreat. The Oppositionists, considering the policy chosen fatal,

yet actually adhered to this policy. Lenin forced the Oppositionists to do their duty.

But soon the Bolshevik revolution found itself faced with a gigantic new test, viz., the Peace of Brest-Litovsk. The drama of the situation for the Bolsheviks lay not so much in the burden of territorial losses as in the political and moral blow to the prestige of the whole Bolshevik upheaval. To crush the democratic Provisional Government, to crush in an iron vise of terror all freedom-loving elements, among them the Socialist element of the country, only to step back respectfully before the reactionary feudal power of Prussian Militarism, seemed intolerable to many Bolshevik leaders.

The Seventh Conference of the Communist Party in March, 1918, served as the arena of passionate debates on the question of ratification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The opposers were Trotsky, Bukharin and a number of lesser known leaders. They admitted that the Russian army, as a fighting unit, no longer existed, but they hoped for a spontaneous uprising of the Russian people against the Germans, and for a revolution in Europe, which would change the whole aspect of affairs. The majority of the conference was of the opinion that for the war-weary Russian masses the temptation of Bolshevism consisted of making peace immediately and at every cost. The attempt made by the Opposition to show the glory and prestige of the Bolshevik revolution soon died down in the prevailing effort to cling to power at any price, even at the price of capitulation to the power of German militarism, and this capitulation was finally decided on and ratified. The Opposition was broken down, and the majority celebrated their victory.

The Opposition movements in the party were long silent. Then began the period of fierce civil war and intervention. The danger of a collapse of the Bolshevik power welded the party together, if not through solidarity of views, at least through the unity of fear. Doubt and difference of opinion were driven inward.

But two to three years of civil war

exercised a deep influence upon the party. It was placed throughout upon a military basis, not only as regards the organization of its hierarchical relations but also psychologically. Order and command became the dominating form of interparty life. The party was now like a besieged fortress. The declaration of the eleven People's Commissars about the disqualification of proletarian mass organizations from political life and the establishment of an irresponsible régime was now fully confirmed. Elections were formally suppressed in the army and really within the party. All grades of the party hierarchy became infected with bureaucracy. The special resolution of the Eighth Conference (March, 1919) emphasized that the party must devote tens of thousands of its members to purely administrative and military activity, as a consequence of which "many members of the party \* \* \* to a considerable degree break away from the masses and become infected with bureaucracy, this often applying to many workmen, members of the Soviets." But this bureaucratic transformation had as its consequence a social transformation. The conference pointed out that "elements not sufficiently Communistic and even guided solely by self-interest are pouring into the party in large numbers. The R. K. P. (Revolutionary Communist Party) stands at the head of the Government and that inevitably draws to it, together with better elements, also adventurous elements." This development increased in extent in March, 1922. Lenin strongly doubted the data about the social membership of the party. He wrote: "At every step one finds that pure petty-bourgeois elements fall into the category of workmen. \* \* \* It seems as if the proletarian character of our party does not in reality guarantee it against a possible predominance—and that within a very short period of time—of petty-bourgeois elements." The party became the political refuge of non-proletarian, property-owning elements, who, stimulated by the revolution, saw in the universal power and lack of control of the party system, in the absence of free public opinion, a splendid weapon for strengthening themselves in commanding positions of economic, administrative and military life.

#### THE WORKMEN'S OPPOSITION

On this social-psychological basis arose in 1920 new foci of opposition. The chief current of that time was the so-called "Workmen's Opposition." At its head were A. Shliapnikov, former People's Commissar of Labor, Commerce and Industry; Alek-

sandra Kollontai, now the Ambassador of the S. S. S. R. in Mexico; G. Myasnikov—the murderer of the Grand Duke Mikhail Aleksandrovich—and others. At the Tenth Conference of the party (in March, 1921) the first open battle between the Bolsheviks and the Opposition took place. It is evident, from the projected resolutions introduced by the Opposition, that the Opposition blamed the Ts. K. (Central Committee) for "not having taken any steps to purify the party of elements alien to it. \* \* \* It did not create, inside of the party, conditions safeguarding the actual independence of action of the great mass of party members and their communistic training. \* \* \* It did not take any real steps to combat the bureaucratism which was corroding all our Soviet machinery of government and revolting great masses of workmen and poor peasant elements. \* \* \* It did not 'workmanize,' that is, put workmen into, the directing organs either of the Centre or locally. \* \* \* The policy of the Central Committee often leaned toward distrust of the creative power of the working class and to concessions to the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois-official castes." A. Shliapnikov, in his speech before the conference, emphasized that: "What is clear to each and every one is that our party is undergoing a transformation \* \* \* that our Central Committee could not only not attract new members from the proletariat but could not even hold those who were attracted to our party. No, it seems, there was not a proletarian town where extensive desertions from the party of the working element did not occur."

The Tenth Conference held its sittings amid the thunder of the guns of Cronstadt garrison, which had rebelled against the Communist Party. The situation was very strained. Lenin firmly resolved to end the period of so-called "military communism," with its rigorous social experiments, which had brought the Russian people's industry to ruin. There began the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which gave a certain freedom to private industrial initiative. This filled the bourgeois elements both within and without the party with hope, but discouraged a considerable number of workmen-Communists, who sincerely believed that in Russia socialism was beginning and that the bourgeoisie was eliminated forever. The "Workmen's Opposition" represents these moods, the romantic youth of the revolution. Lenin and his friends, however, understood that the "Left childishness" must be put an end to, that a retreat must be made and a policy of





JOSEPH V. STALIN

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party; born 1879

compromise initiated with the great majority of the petty bourgeois population of Russia.

#### REPRESSIONS OF THE OPPOSITION

The Tenth Conference judged the Opposition severely. It was recommended "to break up at once, without any exceptions, all groups formed on the basis of this or that platform, and to take the strictest measures to prevent any manifestations by such party minority groups. The non-fulfillment of this decision of the conference will bring with it unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party." The desire of the Opposition for the transfer of control of the nationalized industry into the hands of the workmen's syndicates was declared to be "a syndicalist and anarchistic aberration," which "demands the most resolute opposition on the basis of ideological principles, and also the purification of the party and its establishment upon a sane and healthy basis," and the propagation of these ideas was declared to be "incompatible with membership in the RKP."

The period of repressions of the Opposition then began. For the "purification of the party, and its establishment upon a sane and healthy basis," in 1921, almost one-fourth of its members were ejected at one stroke. The party thus immediately "purified" itself to the extent of 150,000 members, of whom more than one-fifth were workmen. At the same time the party "cleaned out" a number of the members of the Opposition, who did not accept the NEP, which at that time was in full swing.

These measures, however, did not check the activity of the Opposition. The investigation conducted by the Central Committee for the Eleventh Conference of the party (March-April, 1922), established the fact that the Workmen's Opposition had not dissolved its fractional or minority organization. It preserved its minority Secretariat, a "secret" correspondence (well known, however, to the GPU), with the local organizations was being conducted, and Shliapnikov, while sitting in the Central Committee, thence actually directed the minority's activity aimed at the Central Committee. Lenin introduced the proposal to exclude Shliapnikov from the Central Committee, but this proposal did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote, and so it was shelved. On Nov. 26, 1922, over the signature of twenty-four members of the Workmen's Opposition, a protest was issued at a session of the Executive Committee of the Komintern (Communist International). The Opposition declared: "Our directing centres [viz., the party leaders] are conducting an inexorable, disintegrating struggle against those, especially of the proletarian class, who permit themselves to have their own opinion, and they are taking every kind of repressive measure against them for expressing it in the party circles. \* \* \* The interference and pressure of the bureaucracy are carried so far that the party members are ordered, under the threat of expulsion and other repressive measures, to elect not those whom the Communists themselves want, but those whom the leaders, ignoring the party, want. Such methods lead to the furthering of personal ambitions, intrigue and servility, and the workmen answer it by abandoning the party."

Among the Workmen's Opposition the most resolute opposition group was that of Myasnikov. He issued a number of illegal documents, subjecting the policy of the party to a ruthless and, in many respects, a purely demagogical exposure. Here was outlined, as it were, a kind of Red Vendée



program—the revolt of those proletarians offended by the NEP against the creator and defender of the NEP, viz., the Communist Party. Myasnikov and his friends were excluded from the party. They continued, however, their illegal activity, forming the “Workmen’s Group of the Communist Party” and issuing a “manifesto” abroad. Soon however, some scores of men belonging to this group, including Myasnikov, were thrown into prison, where they remain to this day.

The pitiless repressions, on the one hand, and the appearance of the Left, purely revolutionary wing of the Opposition, compromising its nucleus, led to the silencing of the Opposition for a time. On the other hand, the NEP was undoubtedly meeting with success. The economic situation of the masses was somewhat improved and the elementary functions of life somewhat revitalized. Any return to the policy of pure Communism was regarded as madness, and the NEP began to justify itself in the eyes of many who had fought against it as a betrayal of the revolution. Many Communists settled down, receiving instead of a Communist bird in the hand two Communist bluebirds in the bush. In this atmosphere the oppositionist mood lost its advantage.

#### CRISIS OF 1923

But all this was radically changed from 1923 on. An economic crisis arose—the first crisis of the NEP. The productions of the nationalized industry, thanks to the colossal sums spent on the vast bureaucratic system, the parasitical and inexperienced agency of government, were so costly that no sales were made to large numbers of the peasants. A number of industrial enterprises closed their doors, and a cruel period of unemployment set in. A reduction in the army also swelled the ranks of the unemployed. The financial cul-de-sac also made it necessary to reduce the bureaucratic machinery. A multitude of people appeared in the street who labored under the impression that they were forever insured as pensioners of the Soviet Government and the party, paying the insurance premium by singing the praises of the “International” and chanting hymns to the Soviet power. The pressure on the working power and the general uncertainty as to what would come tomorrow were the cause of many strikes. Within the party itself the petty bourgeois element legalized by the NEP waxed strong. The party, which at one time (up to Sept. 1, 1923) had

over 700,000 members, now counted only 351,000, of whom only 54,000 were workingmen. But these belonged to the least skilled class of the Russian proletariat. The opposition within the party died down; within the party reigned full peace, the quiet of the grave; and this frightened the leaders.

On the sixth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution Zinoviev wrote a long article, published in *Pravda*, in which he spoke with anxiety of the “calm” reigning in the party, and argued that it should be ended. The Central Committee permitted discussion of the questions treated in this article; and the dissatisfaction long repressed suddenly burst forth. Thousands of people representing the middle and higher leadership of the party, even sometimes representatives of the lower strata, openly came forward with complaints of the situation which had been created within the party. To a considerable extent the articles flooding the Bolshevik papers of those days took up the arguments of the Workmen’s Opposition already referred to.

There then appeared the picture of the frightened party herd visiting the confer-



LEV DAVIDOVICH TROTSKY

Chairman of the Central Committee for Concessions; first Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government and subsequently of War; born 1877

ence "for voting," and always "unanimously" accepting in advance the resolution emanating from "above." In industrial enterprises the party members were obliged to take over the duties of the "persuaders" who argued in favor of the exploited masses of workmen. The adhesion of a Communist to their complaints of the Administration was considered as a serious party transgression, and such a Communist was punished. Exploitation of the proletariat in the Government undertakings was disguised as "Marxism" and "Leninism," and the industrialist who used the "sweating" system, according to official hypocrisy, worked for the "Socialist complex," or the Socialist Fatherland," and did all this "for the workmen themselves," who were not really workmen but owners "of their own" industrial enterprises.

#### TROTSKY AS OPPOSITION LEADER

The wide scope of the discussions went far beyond the expectations of the Central Committee when it permitted them. The Workmen's Opposition, weary and depressed, now suddenly spoke through thousands of lips hitherto sealed, and without infringing the law. But the most sensational event of that time was the strong Opposition tone emanating from Trotsky, who, after Lenin, was the most brilliant representative of Bolshevism. The former inexorable accuser of the Workmen's Opposition in his articles on "The New Course" now declared that the chief cause of the abnormal condition of the party lay in the official leaders. The personnel of the party's supreme directors was made up of the unprogressive group of old "veteran" generals, conservative in thought and action, timid with respect to the new powers brought forward by the revolution, worried monopolists of the party and Government machinery, having no vital link with the masses. Bureaucratism came not from below, not from the mass of real workmen, but from above, from the "ossified" Central Committee. Workmen from the lower class were caught in the cogs of the bureaucratic machine and soon lost their way back to those masses from which they had emerged. The young generation, the "barometer of the nation," were pushed into the background, the elders retained their monopoly.

With this doctrine Trotsky, a member of the Central Committee, went to students and to young soldiers, and here and everywhere met with an enthusiastic reception. The situation became menacing to the Central Committee. So far as the discussion

came from unauthoritative representatives of the party the Central Committee looked upon it without any special fear, although militarily remaining fully prepared. But the adhesion to and leadership of this movement by Trotsky, Radek, Preobrazhensky, and the emergence again of the freshly emboldened Shliapnikov and other leaders of the "Workmen's Opposition"—all this gave to the discussion a dangerous "anti-party" character. The discussion was intended to relieve the souls of the party hares, and now suddenly the party lions were roaring.

A fierce struggle began with Trotsky. At hundreds of assemblies there appeared both the representatives of the Opposition and those of the majority, and clumsy "engineering" of votes and resolutions prevailed. All the Autumn and half of the month of January, 1924, passed in noisy and disorderly discussions. At the beginning of January, 1924, the Thirteenth Party Conference assembled. A resolution was introduced, according to which: "Within the present Opposition there is an attempt to effect a revision of Bolshevism, which is not only a direct departure from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petty bourgeois tendency. There is no doubt that that Opposition objectively reflects the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie on the position of the proletariat party. \* \* \* The principles of inter-party democracy (and this was the chief demand of the Opposition), already begin to be discussed beyond the confines of the party, and on broader lines in the sense of a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a widening of the political rights of the new bourgeoisie. In view of the fact that the RKP., embodying the dictatorship of the Proletariat, is the sole legal governing body in the country, it is inevitable that the least stable groups of Communists should sometimes yield to non-proletarian influences." It is not difficult to see in this "indictment" of the Central Committee aimed at the Opposition, elements of plagiarism from the "indictment" of the Opposition aimed at the Central Committee. Even to the present, the attempt to kick the ball of accusation through the goal posts of the opposing camp remains the favorite method of inward struggle.

The resolution of the Thirteenth Conference declared that the discussion was considered closed, but the death of Lenin, which occurred a few days later, actually did close it. The Central Committee directed all the attention of the party toward this

tremendous event. The Opposition died away. In order to give it the *coup de grâce* the Central Committee ordered that the elections at the Thirteenth Conference should be participated in not only by members of the party, as required by the regulations, but also by the candidates for membership, which the regulations forbade. On the occasion of Lenin's death nearly 200,000 workmen were taken into the party. Though all these candidates did not complete half the requirement as regarded the period of candidacy, they elected delegates at the conference, and, of course, those for whom it was not dangerous to vote. Acting all together, they submerged the Opposition. They admitted many delegates, who expressed a flaming devotion to the Central Committee. There still prevailed a strong spirit of solemn canonization of Lenin. The whole conference went to his grave. The emergence of the Opposition was both formally and psychologically impossible. Trotsky delivered a half-repentant address.

#### FIERCE BATTLES SINCE 1925

Before the middle of 1925 there were no signs of organized opposition. Only a severe struggle went on with Trotsky in connection with some of his historical works. But then there began preparations for the Fourteenth Party Conference. From that moment to the present day the Opposition has remained the centre of fierce battles within the party. The debates at the Fourteenth Conference, which lasted from Dec. 18 to Dec. 31, 1925, were almost wholly devoted to the Opposition, which comprised the best forces of the party. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Krupskaya, Pyatakov, Smilga, Sokolnikov, Zalutsky, Evdokimov, Lashevich, Nikolaev, Safarov, were all party members, and they were all on the side of the Opposition. The Opposition centre was the Petersburg (Leningrad) party organization, headed by Zinoviev. In its hands was now the large daily, the *Leningrad Pravda*, and the machinery of a large organization in the interior. Already before the conference the first attacks on the Central Committee had begun. From the former list of delegates to the conference the names of Stalin, Dzerzhinsky and other members of the Central Committee were struck off. But it was necessary to arrange many secret conferences, even in private homes, in view of the presence of the agents of Moscow.

It is noteworthy that among the motives of the Opposition's attack on the Central

Committee was the following: The Central Committee did not oppose sufficiently Trotsky and "Trotskyism." At the conference itself Trotsky remained absolutely silent, not wishing to compromise the new Opposition. The new Opposition did not say a word against Trotsky at the conference. The formulas of accusation at the conference were more or less as follows: The directing organs of the party strove to represent the NEP, that is, the whole policy of showing increasing tolerance to the swift growth of private economy, as "Socialism." They "sweetened" the NEP, "hushed up" the class struggle, hushed up the real conflict between the capitalistic and Socialist elements in our country. In the agrarian problem the party leaned toward economic support of the economically strong elements of the village as against the general village poverty. The party did not take into consideration the strong growth of the *Kulak* (a class of wealthy peasants who exploit the population); sometimes they idealize the *Kulak*, considering his ever-increasing rôle in the market of village agricultural wares as a condition of success of the "Socialist complex." The specific forms of repression used against rich peasants were called off, also the specific forms for protecting "poverty." Proposals for drawing into the party the basic masses of the proletariat were met in the directing organs with mockery and charges of "Menshevism." An object of controversy in the conference was also the question of the possibility of Socialism in an isolated country; one, moreover, as backward in all respects as Russia. The Opposition of 1925 strongly emphasized that without a universal social revolution throughout the world, Socialism in Russia alone could not be built up. That required a more resolute revolutionary policy abroad, and the Central Committee was conducting a policy not toward, but away from a world revolution.

Special consideration was given in the conference to the question of the advantage or disadvantage of inter-party espionage and denunciation. A number of speakers declared that within the party an atmosphere had been created which made it impossible to talk privately with one's nearest comrade about one's doubts, under penalty of having it immediately reported by certain control organs of the party and bringing on one's self repressive measures. The majority answered the Opposition by stating that "Lenin once taught us that every party member must be an agent of





NIKOLAI IVANOVICH BUKHARIN  
Editor of *Pravda*

the Cheka, that is, must watch and denounce." As a matter of fact, a considerable part of the accusations brought against the Opposition at the conference was based on data obtained by such "friendly" means.

After the conference there began the physical destruction of the Opposition. Drastic changes were made in editorial offices and throughout whole organizations. The period of inner terror began and continues to the present day. In July, 1926, occurred the united session of the *plenums* of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission (Ts. K. K.). Trotsky was an official member of the Opposition and its leader. Different tendencies of the Opposition formed a general bloc. There was very little common ground between their programs. The differences between them were sometimes deeper than between some of them and the Central Committee. But they were united in one demand: to abolish the régime of espionage, denunciation, physical and moral terrorism, to realize the elementary demands of interorganized democracy. The entrance of Trotsky into the Opposition camp made a profound impression on the party and on the whole country.

In the joint declaration of the Opposition to the July *plenum* of 1926 it was pointed out that the "comrades, on whom the party may depend in heavy days, for the most part are expelled from the ranks, are transferred, exiled, are persecuted, are replaced *en masse* by all kinds of casual people, who have no experience, but who are marked by slavish subservience. \* \* \* Hundreds of the best workmen are sent away from Leningrad. Thousands of Communist workers in this or other ways are alienated from the work of the party." This document, which was at once declared illegal, was signed by thirteen eminent members of the party, including Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Krupskaya and others.

The debates had a dramatic character. Dzerzhinsky, as the head of the G. P. U. and the Supreme Council of People's Economics (the V. S. N. X.), pronounced a fierce philippic against the Opposition. On returning home after the conference he died from heart failure. This produced a bad effect on the whole party political situation. The situation was made tenser by the fact that the work of the Opposition won throughout the country sympathy from the most moderate elements and those hostile to the Soviet power. This frightened the Opposition itself. The Central Committee terrorized the Opposition, strongly exploiting "compliments" made it by the Russian political émigrés. On the other hand, some of the Opposition "went too far," talked to the bitter end and demanded legalization of the other parties in order that the R. K. P. might concentrate on a "pure" proletarian policy.

The struggle against the Opposition drove it deep underground. A number of secret conferences were organized, one even in the midst of a wood. The names of those participating were carefully hidden, and in general not only all the technique but also all the psychology of the underground struggle of the days of Czarism began to be operative. But those times of Czarism were also revived by the Government in its struggle with this underground movement. Almost no meeting of the Opposition occurred at which one or another hired or voluntary agent of the Central Committee was not present, who immediately reported all that had occurred, and denounced those who had participated. As usual in such cases, people appeared who won the authorities' favor by denouncing the Opposition. These informers, moreover, either terribly exaggerated or simply lied.

The Opposition received a number of



heavy blows, and at the October *plenum*, 1926, of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission saw itself obliged to retreat. On Oct. 16, 1926, there appeared over the signature of the chief leaders of the Opposition a statement in which they pledged themselves to dissolve their minority organization, to discontinue attacks upon the Central Committee and to abandon a number of their other activities. This statement undoubtedly sounded like a capitulation. The partisans of the Central Committee exulted. The enemy was beaten and humiliated. And suddenly at the conference of the seventh enlarged session of the Executive Committee of the Komintern, in December, 1926, there appeared Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and others, and the capitulation of Oct. 16 was grossly violated. They came out with a defense of their position and with attacks upon the Central Committee. This was like a bolt from a clear sky. The promise of Oct. 16, 1926, was declared to have been a deception of the party, a "manoeuvre," a "breathing spell," in order to regain power against the Central Committee. It is possible that such was actually the case. The underground activity of the Opposition groups did actually continue. Forbidden literature was distributed. A correspondence was exchanged between cities as to how one must "behave at cross-examinations" and avoid "failures." The Central Control Commission investigated a number of cases connected with the Opposition, one after another meeting with failure in their underground activity. The Opposition "Generals," however, for the time being remained aside.

In the Summer of 1927, however, these Opposition Generals entered the arena. On May 9 Zinoviev came out at the large party conference with an accusation against the Central Committee. This step of Zinoviev seemed "unheard of" in view of the fact that the conference was attended by non-members of the party, who were thus drawn into the settlement of the interparty controversy. The events that followed were of the same nature. The Opposition leader, Smilga, was transferred from Moscow to the Far East. For a long time he opposed this order, but finally had to leave. At the Yaroslav station in Moscow on June 9 the forces of the Opposition gathered to see him off, and a manifestation was here arranged. Smilga was carried in triumph to the train; Trotsky pronounced an aggressive address, and in all this manifestation the outside public took part.

All this occurred at a moment of unusual tenseness of the internal and international situation of Russia. England broke with the Soviets; in Warsaw the Soviet Ambassador was assassinated; within Russia there were a number of attacks; the threat of war hung low over the country. All this gave the act of the Opposition the aspect of high treason. In a number of addresses Trotsky questioned the ability of the party leaders to defend Russia in the event of war. Instead of uniting for a common defense, Trotsky declared at the *plenums* of the Executive Committee that "the most dangerous of all dangers is the party régime." On another occasion he cited the example of Clémenceau, who during the war for France's defense had to overthrow a useless Government. A campaign of petitions was organized, in which more than 1,500 signatures were obtained.

In answer to this, the Central Committee, besides taking general repressive measures, organized thousands of party meetings, with one stereotype demand: to eject Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee. The atmosphere was very heated, and



GRIGORY EVSEEVICH ZINOVIEV  
Formerly head of the Third (Communist) International; born 1883

it seemed that there was no solution. On June 24 the Central Control Commission published an indictment and presented a resolution to revive before the next alternate *plenum* of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission the question of expelling Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee. But this did not frighten the Opposition. On the contrary, it formed an even more resolute group of Oppositionists, viz., "Group 15," which formulated its accusations in almost revolutionary tones. At the same time it formed the "buffer group," endeavoring in some way to pacify the opposing parties, whose hostility had become so intense that at the initiative of the Opposition the question was raised: Who will succeed in shooting the other first? At that time Krupskaya left the Opposition. The widow of Lenin, an old, weary woman, saw that the party was rapidly driving toward destruction, and timidly and sorrowfully she withdrew. A number of small renegades appeared. But all this in no way cleared the atmosphere, which smelled of powder. Among the people and within the party itself the wildest rumors were spread about.

And, as always, the most terrible thing for both sides was that in this conflict the *tertius gaudens* began to reap the harvest, in this case the depressed and enslaved country, unable meanwhile to pursue its freedom and waiting for its masters to fight their quarrel out. Both sides were badly frightened. The July *plenum* met as usual, and behind the scenes forces seeking a compromise sought to influence both sides. After thousands of resolutions demanding the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee, the *plenum* rejected this solution. It demanded from Trotsky and Zinoviev a signed document of recantation. The Opposition held a long and detailed discussion regarding the framing of this document. Its attitude was challenging, for it knew that there would be no expulsion, that Stalin and other leaders of the Central Committee did not dare to resort to this measure. Stalin did not appear at the *plenum* session. After all, instead of a capitulation, an ambiguous document was drawn up, in which an interpretation was given of some phrases of Trotsky about the Central Committee's policy. Thus, instead of a confirmation that within the Central Committee were elements of Thermidoran degeneracy, the Opposition now declared that those elements were in the country itself, but that the Central Committee did not oppose them sufficiently. Other recantations were of the same scholastic character.

The historical significance of the compromise concluded at the July *plenum* of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission did not lie in the verbal windings and turnings of the signed documents, but in the fact that the dominant group lost the possibility of using surgical methods on the leaders of the Opposition. The leaders of the party compromised themselves not only in the eyes of the country but also in the eyes of their followers, who were ordered to demand the blood of the Opposition only to find themselves forced to be satisfied with the watery ink of documents of compromise. The experience of the gross violation of the act of capitulation of Oct. 16, 1926, caused the partisans of the Central Committee to adopt a very skeptical attitude toward the stability of this new compromise. They threatened only that when the Opposition violated this new compromise the party would not hesitate to apply the most resolute measures of surgery. But such declarations of the dominating leaders had been made more than once before. For more than six years since the Tenth Assembly the Damoclean blade of punishment had been suspended over the head of the Opposition, but there was no longer any belief that it would fall.

#### A REFLECTION OF PEOPLE'S DISCONTENT

The Opposition within the Communist Party is not a casual or accidental episode, and it is not a result of the weakness and pacific tendency of the majority. It is a law of the development of the Communist Party itself. Its significance is clear: Where over the manifold complex of economic and social relations of a vast country there rules only one party, which automatically disposes of the destinies of all classes, sharp opposition of the social interests enters perforce in one form or another into the party itself, and turns it into an arena of fierce conflict of different party groups. The Opposition within the party is only the distorting mirror of the opposition to the ruling power within the country itself, for the dictatorship does not allow mirrors whose reflection is true to the reality. Its utopistic dream of annihilating dissent outside itself cannot but be revenged by the reality of fierce dissent within itself. To blame the Opposition for expressing the bourgeois mood in the country is as reasonable as to blame a distorting mirror for transforming the fat face of a well-fed bourgeois into the emaciated face of a hungry proletarian.

PARIS, FRANCE, September, 1927.

# Russia's Former Ruling Classes at Home and in Exile

By SAMUEL CAHAN

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AFTER ten years of Bolshevik rule, the ultimate aim of which is to bring about a classless society, there are in Russia today four classes of people. In order of their importance they are: peasants, workmen, *smenovechovtsi* (which means "changed people") and *lishentsi* ("disfranchised people.") Of the peasants and the workmen much is known. They are ostensibly the rulers of the land. But what sort of people are *smenovechovtsi* and *lishentsi*?

They are approximately 9,000,000 people who constituted the upper class in Russia before the revolution. Among them are the majority of the former bourgeoisie, the bulk of the professional and middle class, the unreconciled intelligentsia, the clergy, and a considerable number of the titled nobility, whose demise at the hands of the Cheka and other Bolshevik agencies has been widely recorded.

Statistics on this subject are practically non-existent. In the Czarist Empire, with a population of 185,000,000, the upper class was estimated at about 14,000,000. The separation of Poland and Bessarabia and the secession of the Baltic States reduced that number by about 3,000,000. It is variously estimated that between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 people of the upper class escaped from Russia during the distressing days of the revolution. These figures, however, are so fantastic as not to be admissible in any circumstances. The departure of millions of people is not an escape; it is an exodus and could not have been accomplished when Russia was surrounded by a double ring of steel, from within and without. A liberal estimate of the number of the formerly wealthy and aristocratic class who wormed their way out past the Red guards and hostile armies is 1,500,000.

Undoubtedly the loss of life among the aristocracy and the nobility as a result of the civil war, executions, famine and other plagues which befell Russia with the revolution, was appalling. It probably reached the half-million mark. The rest of what remains of the several groups that made up the upper class are still in Russia as the *smenovechovtsi* and the *lishentsi*,

that is, the "changed" and the "disfranchised" people. These designations are not mere references. The status of these two groups, of the latter especially, is as clearly defined as that of the workmen and peasants.

*Smenovechovtsi* is a word of revolutionary coinage (the root of the word is *smena*, "change"), and is used to describe all those who have changed front by becoming allied with the new social order. The term *smenovechovtsi* also implies voluntary acceptance of the Soviet régime. However, it would be more correct to describe them as *primirentsi*, people who accept with resignation that which they regard as inevitable. Of them there are approximately 3,000,000, including former army officers, a large number of business people, among whom some were leaders in business and industry under the old régime. Many of them are now managing for the Soviet Government large establishments which they owned before the revolution. There is also a large number of the professional class and of the intelligentsia, and here and there one may discover a formerly titled noble as a *smenovechovets*.

The other group, the *lishentsi*, is composed of what is left of the titled nobility, the remainder of the bourgeoisie, a large portion of the professional class and of the intelligentsia, the clergy and, with rare exceptions, all those engaged in private business under the New Economic Policy. Yet the term *lishentsi* ("disfranchised") hardly describes the position of more than 6,000,000 people in that classification. Their disfranchisement consists not merely in their being denied the suffrage. They are cast out of society altogether. The Government disfranchises them politically because the basis of citizenship in Soviet Russia is productive labor; public opinion of the social order disfranchises them socially for their real or imaginary sins; and a great number of the best of the old bourgeoisie and aristocracy disfranchise themselves economically by steadfastly refusing to do business under the New Economic Policy.

There is a difference between the *smenovechovtsi* and the *lishentsi* in that the for-



mer have accepted Soviet society as a fact and are making the best of it. They are employed as managers and administrators in the civil and business branches of the Government. They are accepted as workers and leaders in the wide network of co-operatives. Many of them have found places in the army and in the Soviet educational system, and are adapting themselves to the new environment in many other ways. It cannot be said that their position is one of great trust or honor, but their social status is tolerable, and their livelihood is secure.

The *lishentsi*, on the other hand, choose to stay outside Soviet society. Many of them do so because it is profitable; others because they are too proud to acknowledge defeat. The attitude of the Soviet social order is that it owes these people nothing. Of course, protection of life is not denied them, but liberty and pursuit of happiness, so to speak, are different matters. These matters involve rights and man has no rights in Soviet Russia. Toilers alone have rights. What is a toiler? A toiler is any one who is a member of the social order of workers and peasants and makes a living without exploitation. The social order of workmen and peasants! It is that at which millions of the formerly wealthy and cultured class still balk, but their ranks are constantly being thinned by the desertions of their own people who become *smenovechovtsi*.

#### ARISTOCRATS ACCEPT SOVIETS

Herein lies a significant aspect in the constantly changing currents in the formative period of the Russian revolution. These men and women of the formerly wealthy, cultured and aristocratic groups are beginning to admit the permanence of the Soviet order and are slowly but constantly infiltrating into the Soviet structure. In a country of 150,000,000 souls these people constitute a small fraction of the population. But it should be remembered that they are a vital group. If their incursion into the Soviet order continues, and there is no doubt it will, is it not possible that the white stream will discolor the red fabric of the social order of workmen and peasants?

The surrender on the part of an ever-increasing number of the old upper class is also significant in view of the interpretations that many outside of Russia place upon the NEP, the New Economic Policy. Why do former Russian business men become *smenovechovtsi* in order to obtain employment with the Soviets for which they have no great love rather than engage in private business under the NEP?

The New Economic Policy is not what people outside Russia are led to believe it is. Whatever it may be in the future, it is at present not a surrender on the part of the Soviet Government. It does not foreshadow a "return to sanity" of the Soviet régime. The Russian business man lives in Russia and understands the real intent and purpose of the NEP. He knows that it is not a concession but a riddance of annoying economic problems. He knows that the New Economic Policy is a means by which the Soviet Government seeks to unload responsibility for the petty details of the national economy on to the shoulders of the private individual. He knows that every important and profitable business is a monopoly in the hands of the Government and that the NEP is only a means to plug the leaks in the economic structure of Communism; and, best of all, he knows that the Soviet hope is ultimately to do away with the little private trading there is under the NEP.

Participation in private business, moreover, places one automatically in the class of *lishentsi*, the disfranchised. Public opinion of the new society stigmatizes them. If there is in Russia today any one more profoundly despised than a titled noble, it is the private trader. The Russian doing business under the NEP, in addition to social stigma, draws upon himself many legal disabilities and civil limitations. Therefore, why be a "nepman," as the private trader is known, and suffer the humiliation and disadvantages that go with it? The door that is called *smenovechovschina* ("front changing") is wide open. Enter this door and you become, more or less, a member of "proper society," and your troubles will be only those that are the lot of every human being in struggling Russia. This line of reasoning was expounded to me again and again by men who formerly owned great wealth and who are now satisfied with salaries ranging from \$75 to \$300 a month. Not the least interesting fact is that many of them have become managers for the Soviets of properties they owned not so long ago.

Yet it should be emphasized that, although the spirit of the old bourgeoisie and aristocracy is being broken by a combination of circumstances, there are still many stiff-necked enough to refuse to make peace with the new order. They will not tinker with the petty business of the NEP because of the evil reputation cast upon it by ordinary private traders, especially the new ones. If against them is to be leveled the wrath of society let it be on account



of their aristocratic origin. The stigma of the private profit-maker would be unbearable.

Nothing is more pathetic than the spectacle of those former aristocrats who, weary, bloodless in the face, shriveled from hunger and wrapped in tatters, stand in the market place of any Russian city on Sunday mornings, offering for sale a snuff-box, a bracelet, a ring, perhaps the last of the family heirlooms, a thing that might have been cherished by the family for generations, to obtain the price of food to keep body and soul together a little while longer. When everything is gone, they lie down and wait for death. Frequently they do not wait for it; they hasten it; or they just wait in true Russian fashion for something to turn up.

A great many of the former titled nobility and landed gentry have withdrawn into the country, where they owned great estates, and are being provided generously with everything they need by the peasants who expropriated their lands and wealth. The Soviet authorities know about it and pretend not to see what is going on. Time is purging the Russian revolution of one of its most powerful and at the same time most degrading motives, revenge. The fact that a peasant divides his crumb of bread with his former landlord and the district commissar knows about it and does nothing to stop it is a healthy sign for Russia.

Soviet Russia's need of machines for manufacturing purposes has been well advertised, but men who know how to make the best use of machines are even more scarce than machines. Although the old Russian merchant and industrial class was never distinguished for extraordinary achievements in organization or for its business sagacity, that class is the chief source from which the Soviet Government must recruit its experienced business executives and administrators. Hence the so-called *smenovechovtsi*. When they become allied with the Government they are watched; but they are welcome.

#### FORMER OWNERS AS MANAGERS

Most of these men in the Soviet ranks dislike the idea of Communism and even sneer openly at the leaders of the Kremlin. But the Soviet leaders are not sensitive people, nor are they misguided in regard to the feelings of the members of the former bourgeoisie and aristocracy in the Soviet economic and social structure. They do not expect the man who has to manage a plant that was formerly his property, at a salary of \$125 a month, to think kindly

of Communism and socially owned wealth. They are fully aware of his sentiments toward them, but they do not care. They are deeply concerned about the volume of production under his management and they see to it that he does his duty fully. The Government knows the capacity of the plant and demands that the present manager produce as large a volume of goods for society as he produced for himself. Men of this type are in large measure responsible for the remarkable recovery of Soviet industry.

In justice let it be said that the Soviet Government recognizes the value of these men. In many instances the remuneration of a bourgeois factory manager is more than twice the salary allowed the President of the Soviet Union, and relatively more than any Communist official or executive in the highest post in the service of the Government, political or business, is receiving. I have been told on good authority that the manager of the Putilov Works in Leningrad is receiving \$250 a month, while the salary of President Kalinin is \$112.50 a month, the maximum salary a Communist may receive. I have personally met many of the *smenovechovtsi* in subordinate positions who were receiving higher compensation than their Communist superiors.

Those of the old bourgeoisie who hold out against the Soviet régime still cling to the hope that some day things will be different. It may be a forlorn hope, but it keeps them alive. The more practical among them say that, even if a genuine change in the direction of capitalism should ever take place, it will never be the unrestricted capitalism of the old days. Meanwhile, until that change comes, if ever it does, one can be vastly more comfortable by maintaining friendly relationship with the Soviets. Since one cannot subsist on hope alone, why be disfranchised? Why endure the hardships of the unprivileged when one can become a member of "proper society" and have what there is to be had?

The desire to become members of the privileged class is stimulated not by material considerations alone. Personal feeling is no small factor that is driving many of the proudest members of the old régime into the ranks of the Soviet order. It is the psychology of the *déclassé* striving to pass into the camp of the class that is in the saddle. All their lives they have lived in privilege. Suddenly they find themselves deprived of everything, and under their eyes grows up a new class of privileged persons.

There is in Russia today a class as dis-

tinently monopolistic of special privilege as there ever was under the Czars. The difference lies only in the relative values of the privileges available. The former privileged class monopolized most of the wealth, culture, education, position, government and rights. So does the privileged class of the new social order, except that the wealth which formerly gave the privileged few all their comforts is widely diffused and therefore insufficient to be noticeable as a special privilege of the peasants and workmen. Nevertheless, the principle of privilege is there just the same. Under the old régime the privileges of the few were in every aspect the condensed sweat and toil and tears of the mass of the people. The unprivileged had to be satisfied with what was left after the privileged had satisfied their desires, and as the appetite of the ruling class was quite insatiable there was seldom anything left for the lower strata. The same is true of the present social order, except that the situation has been reversed.

When reproached with unfairness toward those who were formerly wealthy and who refuse to make peace with the Government, a Soviet official of high rank said to me in substance: "Our loaf of bread is not big enough to go around, and we are going to distribute it to our people first." Of course "our people" are the peasants and workmen and all others allied with them. The others are not "our people," and, for all practical purposes, in the eyes of the Soviet Government, foreigners and enemies to boot.

Communism promises to erase all class distinctions, but it begins with the class struggle. When the Communist promises to abolish classes in society he means something else. What he really means is that he will encourage only one class, the toilers, and that ultimately society will be composed of toilers who will measure up to the Communist definition. When the Communist denounces privilege he does not condemn privilege as such. It is special privilege in the hands of the few that is anathema. In the meantime, what Communism did in Russia was not to abolish privilege but to transfer it to another class more than nine times as large as the class that had the monopoly on it. But, after all, in a country as poverty stricken as Soviet Russia is today, in what does special privilege consist? The earnings of the workers are small, though in the aggregate the wage-earners are as well or nearly as well off as they were before the war. Two or three rubles (\$1 to \$1.50) a day at the present Russian cost of living is indeed very little. But let it be remembered that

a worker's earnings go a long way in Soviet Russia.

My Soviet informant who made the comment about the loaf of bread not being "big enough to go around" also offered the information that the bourgeoisie can have anything that is left after the needs of the workers are satisfied, but as this happy condition is still in the realm of fancy, the bourgeoisie have a long time to wait for the things they need to live. For instance, a flat in a Soviet-owned property is vacant. The worker is given preference. He may rent it at, say, 3 or 5 rubles a month. If he does not want it a bourgeois may have it at ten and even fifteen times the price for which it is available to the worker. Why the discrimination? Because the worker is a member of the class in the saddle. He is one of "our people." There is nothing strange about this in Russia. The monarchy thrived on injustice for more than three hundred years. In the case of price discrimination in favor of the worker it is well to bear in mind that the socially cast out, formerly rich, has even fewer means with which to pay rent than the worker, unless he is a Nepman, which comparatively few of them are.

#### THE NEW INEQUALITY

If such inequality were a fact in other civilized countries no one in authority would be willing to accept responsibility for it, or even to admit its existence. In Russia the sponsors of discrimination speak of it as one of the achievements of the new order. Discrimination in Russia is justified because it is in favor of the toiler who, being the producer of all wealth, has first claim to everything. This principle was embodied in the first Soviet Constitution, in which it was frankly stated that "he who toils not, neither shall he eat."

The official attitude toward those who were formerly wealthy was well illustrated in the following incident: A peasant wrote a letter to *The Peasants' Gazette*, in which he complained that the revolution brought the poor people nothing. "Poor we were. Poor we are now. And poor we will always be." Thus he reproaches the Soviets. In reply, President Kalinin takes up the cudgel on behalf of the revolution. Did it benefit the masses or did it not? Let us see. "Whose children," he asks, "are given preference in institutions of education? For whom does the Government maintain hospitals, rest homes, sanatoriums? For whose benefit are the systems of social insurance, pensions, and so forth? For whom?" For the peas-

ants and workers, of course. For "our people." Hospitals, education, pensions, a better life—only workers and peasants and those allied with them are entitled to these.

During the latter part of last August I asked President Kalinin what the men and women of the former upper class could do to improve their status. I told him that in my travels through the principal cities of the Soviet Union I observed that the condition of a great many of the old bourgeoisie was extremely tragic. Mr. Kalinin conceded that there was "undoubtedly much individual suffering," but he was of the opinion that the hardships of the formerly well-to-do were exaggerated. He pointed out that all those of the old order who entered the service of the Government at the beginning were well provided for and cited several instances of men who had enjoyed great wealth, but were now in the Soviet service and were content with their condition. "In any event," he added, "the former bourgeoisie who are left here are better off than their colleagues who emigrated."

After observing the condition of the émigrés in the principal centres in Europe I was convinced that Mr. Kalinin was not aware of the full facts when he made that last statement. While the remnants of old Russia are living out their last days, abandoned and forlorn, strangers in their own country, beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union are scattered 1,500,000 Russians whose fondest thoughts are directed toward their native land and who are waiting impatiently for the day when they will be able to return to their homes. They do not like to be described as émigrés. In that designation there is an implication of voluntary exile. They describe their condition as *izgnanie* (banishment).

The bulk of the Russian emigrants, more than one million, are concentrated in Europe. The chief centre of the émigrés is France, where 400,000 are domiciled. Next comes Poland with 90,000 and Yugoslavia with close to 75,000. There are between 30,000 and 40,000 in Czechoslovakia. Statistics on Russian émigrés in Germany are not available, but 75,000 would be a fair estimate. In Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Asia Minor there are approximately 85,000, while 82,000 have found homes in the Baltic States, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. There are 40,000 in Latvia alone. Comparatively few made their way into England. There are probably less than 15,000 in the whole of the

British Empire. In the Far East the largest contingent is in China, where the League of Nations refugee section places the Russian émigré population at 76,000. About 5,000 are in Japan. The rest are scattered in the other countries of Europe, throughout Asia, Africa, the United States and South America.

#### DR. NANSEN'S WORK FOR EMIGRES

The Russian émigrés will never forget the service rendered them by the League of Nations refugee section, under the direction of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian representative at the League. For a time soon after the Bolshevik upheaval, when they were forced to leave Russia, the condition of the emigrants was extremely precarious. From their native land they had to flee for their lives and the other countries did not want them. The first refugees after some difficulty found shelter in the Balkans and a considerable number made their way into Central and Western Europe. But with their continued influx they soon became a heavy charge upon the various Governments, and one country after another began to close its borders against them. Germany alone, as a result of the post-war collapse, was powerless to prevent their incursion, so that by 1922-23 there were more than 250,000 Russian émigrés in that country.

At the close of 1920 occurred the breakdown of Wrangel's campaign and his Government in the Crimea. In November of that year he withdrew from Russia, taking with him 135,000 refugees, 70,000 of them soldiers and Cossacks. Only one who lived through that event will be able in the future adequately to describe the martyrdom of those who tried to attach themselves to Wrangel in his escape, and those who were unfortunate enough to escape with him. The 70,000 armed men who went with Wrangel were interned at Gallipoli. For a time this group threatened to develop into a serious international problem. According to international usage the defeated Crimean army which found refuge at Gallipoli, Chataldza and on the island of Lemnos should have been disarmed as soon as it reached foreign soil, but Wrangel refused to disarm his forces and defied his erstwhile friends, particularly France, to remove him. He was finally forced to yield after France had made it plain that no more funds would be forthcoming for the support of his army. Some of Wrangel's forces returned to Russia repatriated; a considerable number were evacuated to



Bulgaria, but the bulk of them were moved to Yugoslavia, where they retain their military organization to this day, acknowledging Wrangel as their commander and held by him in readiness for "the march on Moscow."

The émigré at first had no legal status anywhere. He penetrated the various countries without formal permission, and soon became the victim of petty persecution on the part of the respective Governments. His suffering had reached an acute stage when Dr. Nansen, commissioned by the League of Nations, began to work out a solution to the problem. One of the first steps of Dr. Nansen was to legalize the status of the emigrants by establishing for them a League of Nations passport, which is now known among the émigrés as the Nansen passport. Further efforts of the International Labor Bureau in conjunction with other organizations under the direction of Dr. Nansen resulted in the evacuation of scores of thousands of the emigrants into countries where conditions of living and employment were more favorable. Many were settled in various occupations and others looked out for themselves.

The geographic distribution of the émigrés discloses the common aims which bind the particular groups and also reveals the wide divergence of interests and the antagonisms which divide the groups from one another. The Balkan States, and especially Yugoslavia, remain the centre of the extreme monarchists. Czechoslovakia attracted a considerable part of the non-Socialist intelligentsia, professors, students and a large number of the professional class. Coburg is the seat of Grand Duke Cyril, an acknowledged pretender to the throne. Around him in Germany are gathered the reactionary forces of the old régime, who dream of the good old days of the Romanov dynasty. The influence of Grand Duke Cyril extends mainly among the military groups in the smaller Balkan States and in Yugoslavia. The émigrés in Poland are chiefly monarchists, but they are divided between Cyril and Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievich, who also is a candidate for the throne. France is the centre of the republican movement, which embraces what is left of the once powerful Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the Constitutional Democratic Party, which was known as the Cadet Party, under the leadership of Professor Paul Miliukov; the Social Democratic Party, the Populist Socialists, and finally the non-Socialist element among the émigrés who are opposed

to the aims of the monarchists. France also shelters a large number of monarchists who follow Grand Duke Nikolai.

What are the émigrés doing? Is it reasonable to believe that they have resigned themselves to their condition and are content with their life abroad? It should be remembered that the émigrés are largely an adult male population. Among them are the leaders of every phase of life of old Russia. There are the former statesmen, scientists and educators, men and women who actually risked everything in the revolution against the monarchy, a large number of the higher clergy, the active Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social Democrats, artists, writers, musicians, officers of high rank of the old army and along with them a rank and file of hundreds of thousands of men and women in the prime of life, all of them dreaming the dream of their return to their native land.

There was a time when writers saw fit to emphasize the grotesque in the émigrés' situation. A good many people, especially in the United States, really believed that Grand Dukes were driving taxis in Paris and that noble ladies had become waitresses in cheap restaurants. These stories have been confirmed by visiting Americans in Europe who upon their return liked to tell their friends that they had their shoes shined by a Russian baron. Many Americans no doubt were persuaded by bonafide barbers that they are titled nobles and even American correspondents were victimized into accepting honest carpenters and cobblers for counts. But the real counts and barons and the formerly wealthy men of Russia did not have to resort to menial tasks to eke out a living. In that respect, at least, the titled nobility of old Russia exercised foresight. They had seen the handwriting on the wall and provided themselves with foreign securities and property for a rainy day. It is true that for some it more than rained; it poured, and they were caught in the deluge and swept away, but most of them enjoy life at Deauville, Nice, Baden-Baden and other fashionable resorts. Even the rank and file of the émigrés have been largely settled in profitable employment. The economic struggle, therefore, is no more the absorbing problem among the émigrés.

#### DREAM OF FREE RUSSIA

The thought that grips them all is how to get back to a free Russia. They are well aware, however, that the possibility of their return to Russia is extremely remote



as long as the Soviet Government retains its present temper. They all agree that Russia must be saved from Bolshevism, but how that should be accomplished, if it is at all possible, they cannot decide among themselves.

The émigré population is divided into two principal camps. One group, the majority, supports the monarchical idea; and the other, the republicans, stands for a democratic republic in Russia. These two major divisions are in turn split into numerous factions, which are wasting a good deal of their energy in trying to thwart each other's work. The main issue that divides the monarchist group is the question of legitimacy. One section has accepted Grand Duke Cyril, who has officially proclaimed himself Emperor, while a smaller but more influential group supports the claims of Grand Duke Nikolai. The two monarchist groups combined constitute the majority of the emigrants, but their influence is nil, their efforts futile and their cause hopeless.

There are several reasons why the monarchist cause has no future, reasons which the leaders of the movement either do not understand or have not the courage to recognize. The fundamental reason is that the monarchist ideology in Russia is thoroughly obliterated. Secondly, the monarchical idea is made impossible for Russia because of the secret aims of the monarchists. If they have any program at all for the future of Russia it may be summarized in Soviet phraseology as: "All power to an absolute monarch; all lands back to the landlords." How far such aspirations will advance the cause of monarchism needs no comment. Thirdly, the cause of monarchism, discredited as it is, is rendered even more odious by the men who surround both pretenders to the throne. The names of Markov the Second and Trepov are sufficient warning to the Russian people to be on guard against monarchist promises.

Of genuine significance is the republican movement among the émigrés. It is true that they are in the minority abroad, but theirs is a cause which at an opportune moment could command widespread support among the people within the Soviet Union. In Russia I was told by many that the émigrés' activities are a *mertvoe delo*—"a dead business," and the émigrés themselves were characterized as *mertvetsi*, "dead ones." The monarchist movement can properly and conclusively be classified

under the Soviet designation, but the republican movement has greater possibilities than Soviet adherents are willing to concede it, though it includes too many diverse elements to be able to unite on a common program. For example, the differences between the Social Democrats and the Constitutional Democrats are too fundamental to permit of any compromise for the purpose of joint action. There is even no harmony within the various parties. Thus the Cadet Party is split into a right and a left wing, with the former so far to the right that it comes close to the monarchist movement, especially on the question of tactics. The same is true to a considerable extent of the other important groups.

The fundamental question of the type of government that should prevail in Russia is not the only dividing line between the monarchists and the republicans. There is also a tactical difference. The monarchists know that if they are ever to clash with the Bolshevik Government they cannot expect any substantial support from the masses in Russia. They therefore rest their hopes either on foreign intervention, which they try to bring about, or upon a war between the Soviet Union and some of its neighbors, to give them the opportunity to strike at the Soviet régime. Their hope is salvation from without. The overwhelming majority of the republicans is vigorously opposed to foreign intervention, believing that salvation must come from within. The intervention idea, however, is not without support, even among the republicans, especially among the non-Socialist element, the Populist Socialist and the right wing of the Constitutional Democrats. There are a good many Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries who would not reject intervention if they were sure of a successful outcome of such a measure.

Whatever the currents of political thought that divide the various groups may be, there is one bond that draws together all Russians who are living in exile. That is the longing for their native land, which grips alike the former industrial magnate and his servant, and unites the exiled prince with the peasant soldier whom destiny flung into strange lands among strange peoples. Hundreds of thousands among them live with the hope that some day in the near future they will return to "Holy Mother Russia," steadfastly refusing to face the fact that their "Holy Mother Russia," as such, is no more.

# The Record of the Red Terror

By S. MELGUNOFF

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"**K**RASNYI TERROR" (the Red Terror) is an official title which has been used more than once by the Communist régime in Russia even in its administrative documents. The declaration of the Red Terror, appearing at that time or at other times during the past decade, was an indication of the ruthless and lawless methods used by the Bolshevik power to settle its accounts with its political enemies; it meant, to quote the words of an official document of 1918, "the annihilation of the idealists and leaders of the enemies of the proletariat." As a principle, the question was somewhat wider in scope. "We are not making war on individuals," wrote Latsis, one of the chief practical creators of this Red Terror; "we are exterminating the bourgeoisie, as a class."

The ideologists or theoreticians of Communism, however, showed no logic or consistency in justifying the resolution to adopt the system of governmental terrorism. More than once the Communist leaders tried subsequently to depict the Red Terror as an inevitable consequence of the excitement of the popular masses due to the attacks made upon the representatives of the Soviet power by the so-called "counter-revolutionaries," the sabotage of the intelligentsia in the first year following the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks and the armed struggle carried on against them. The Soviet power was forced to resort to the Terror, as it claimed, by pressure of the workers. This was asserted by Dzerzhinsky, the real leader of the Red Terror, in 1922, in a letter handed to the Soviet of People's Commissaries, and which read as follows: "Assuming that the age-old hatred of the revolutionary proletariat for their former masters would involuntarily degenerate into a series of unsystematic, bloody episodes \* \* \* I endeavored to carry through a systematization of the punitive apparatus of the revolutionary power." Thus the official Terror was nothing but "the reasoned and deliberate policy of the chastening hand of the revolutionary proletariat." "Our Terror was necessary," said Kamenov, repeating this same argument. "The Terror was forced on us by the Entente," said Lenin, alluding to "intervention" in

the period of civil war, thus further widening the question, at the seventh meeting of the Soviets in 1919.

The facts, however, always speak for themselves. The plan of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, to create the Red Terror was drawn up by Dzerzhinsky on the basis given by Lenin personally (his own letter, handwritten, has been preserved) on Dec. 7, 1917, that is, before the calling and the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly, when no attacks on the life of the representatives of the Soviet power had yet been made, and when the civil war, in the precise sense of the word, had not yet begun. In February and March, 1918, the Red Terror, officially not declared as such, actually was in operation on the territory covered by the Soviet power. We have the full right to make this assertion, for even in *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Government (numbers 27, 30), reports of the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission) were published at that time regarding fugitives to the south, who had been caught, arrested and shot on the spot for their intention to join the counter-revolutionary forces, and for "counter-revolutionary agitation." [In my book, *The Red Terror in Russia* (Dent, London), the facts are presented and discussed, and official documents are cited, irrefutably confirming this statement].

There is no possibility of drawing up even approximate statistics of the executions by shooting in the first months of the Extraordinary Commission's activity and that of its organs. The Government found itself still in a chaotic condition. All Russia was still in the throes of revolution; besides the official organs of the Government there arose everywhere all kinds of self-elected "revolutionary committees," whose activities were legalized by the Central Government. Moreover, the Government sometimes directly incited the population to take the law into its own hands. For instance, Krylenko himself, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, one of the leaders subsequently of the administration of Soviet justice and the guardian "of revolutionary law" in the Soviet State, on Jan. 22, 1918, declared: "I recommend to the peasants of the Mogilev Guberniya [Admin-

istrative Department] to take the law into their own hands." I am able categorically to refute the assertion of the official historian of the Cheka, Latsis (in his work, *Two Years of Struggle on the Inner Front*), that in the first six months of existence of the Extraordinary Commission only twenty-two men were shot. How far that is from the truth may be seen from the fact that while I was in Moscow, with opportunities to obtain only occasional data appearing in print, I had to enter in my card record of bloody statistics some 884 executions by shooting. Latsis intended the estimate of twenty executions to show the Government's humanity. "And this," he wrote, "would have continued had it not been for the great wave of conspiracy and unheard of terrorism launched by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." But we must keep in view the fact that the first individual terroristic attack on the representatives of the Soviet Government occurred on Aug. 17, 1918, when Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission, was killed by the Socialist, Kanegiser. On Aug. 28 followed the celebrated attack on Lenin, made by the Socialist-Revolutionary Kaplan.

#### DECLARATION OF "RED TERROR"

The terroristic acts of August, 1918, called forth from the Bolshevik authorities an official declaration of the so-called Red Terror, which spread all over Russia like a great wave. Wholesale arrests were made of the most diverse classes of the population. Thousands of those arrested were declared hostages and shot. (Statistics are given in my book, already cited). The character of the Terror in the days of September is revealed with remarkable clearness by the official statements of at least provincial Extraordinary Commissions, which are marked by their frankness of expression: "For the head and life of one of our leaders, we must cut off the heads of hundreds of the bourgeoisie and their adherents" (City of Torzhok). Such statements could be cited by tens and hundreds. The declarations of the press were even more bloodthirsty; the lives of thousands of hostages, "tens of thousands of these parasites," were demanded.

The Central Government, as a matter of fact, directed the whole movement. In the name of the "working class," the Moscow War Commissary, for example, declared (Sept. 3) that "for every drop of proletariat blood \* \* \* there will be shed a stream of the blood of those who \* \* \* oppose the Soviets and the proletarian lead-

ers." He spoke of the pitiless mass Terror. Even the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at its sitting of Sept. 2 gave "a solemn warning to all slavish followers of the Russian and allied bourgeoisie to the effect that for 'every attack on the active leaders of the Soviet Government all counter-revolutionaries will be held responsible.'" The People's Commissary for the Interior, Petrovsky, sent at one time to all Soviets a telegraphic order "concerning hostages." "Laxness and softness must be immediately brought to an end," he wrote, declaring that "mass execution by shooting should be inexorably dealt out" to these hostages. And the *All-Russian Cheka Daily*, an organ which was to work out methods of struggle for the Extraordinary Commissions, in its first issue said: "Let us abandon all long, fruitless and futile speeches about the Red Terror. The time has come, not by words but by deeds, to carry on the most pitiless, sternly organized mass terror." Taking into account all such official declarations, it becomes absolutely impossible to agree with the Soviet publicist Radek, who wrote in *Izvestiya* on



FELIX EDMUNDOVICH DZERZHINSKY  
Chairman of the Soviet Supreme Economic Council at his death on July 20, 1926, but better known as the head of the Cheka during the greater part of the Soviet régime



Sept. 6 that the measures taken by the Government prevented a "mass pogrom of the bourgeoisie." It is necessary to come to exactly the opposite conclusion.

#### PITILESS "SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS"

The whole country was covered with a network of "Extraordinary Commissions for the Battle Against Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation," as they were officially designated. There was no city, no *volost* (administrative division of the *uyezd*, or county) in which there did not appear a branch of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, which became the nerve centre of the Government. The official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, *Pravda*, wrote on Oct. 18 that the battle-cry, "The whole power to the Soviets," will be transformed now into "The whole power to the Extraordinary Commissions."

The Cheka was declared to be the organ which stood, as it were, "on guard" over the Revolution. It was not an organ of justice, but an organ functioning outside the courts—an organ for the "pitiless settlement of accounts with our enemies." It was to be guided not by the "dead code" of law but only by its "revolutionary experience" and by its "revolutionary conscience." In such a situation everything depended on the personnel of the Extraordinary Commission. The punitive apparatus "of the revolutionary power," wrote Dzerzhinsky in the statement quoted, "must represent a crystal-clear organization of people's revolutionary judges and prosecutors, invested with extraordinary power." "The collaborators of the Cheka," declared the head of that organization, "were chosen carefully from the members of the party and consisted of individuals devoted to the cause and of an unimpeachable record in the past, for only by acquiring employes of such pre-dominantly high grade was the Cheka in a position to fulfill the duties \* \* \* imposed upon it." But here inevitably came into play the law of social psychology, or, rather, social pathology. Mass "Jacobin" fanaticism at least was necessary for the realization on a wide scale of the right of the revolution to execute its enemies. Every sane psychology was undermined in the bloody atmosphere surrounding the Cheka. The Cheka was bound inevitably to attract to itself all insane and sadistic elements of the community. Only a madman could eulogize the Cheka in verse and find no greater "joy" or better music than "the crackling of broken lives and bones," as was done by one of the Cheka officials in Tiflis

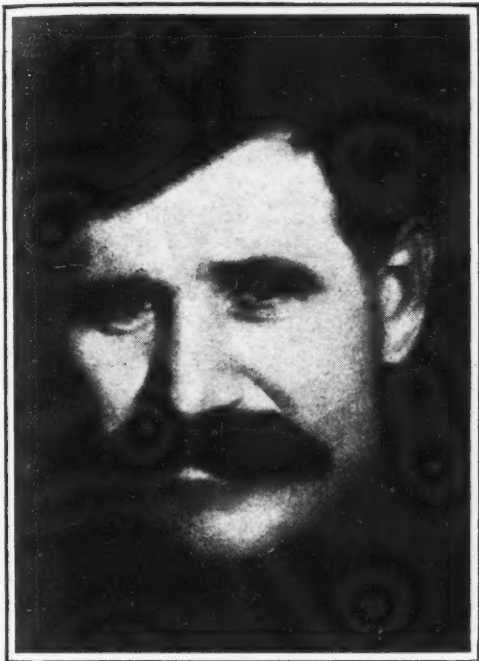
(Georgia) in a collection of verse called *The Smiles of the Cheka*.

Even Latsis had to admit the need of constantly changing the personnel of the Cheka, for "no matter how honest a man may be \* \* \* the work of the Cheka, carried on under conditions inevitably acting on the nervous system and blunting the esthetic sensibilities, makes itself felt," "works degeneratively on many young Communists of weak character." Inevitably the activity of the Cheka was bound, on the other hand, to attract all outcast elements, drawn by greed and the possibility of wielding power. The penetration into the Cheka of this jailbird material of "criminal" elements even Krylenko had to admit. At first the conscience of individual Communist workers, not yet accustomed to horrors, was overcome by the Cheka's activity. No wonder that one of the old Bolsheviks, Olyminsky, openly came out on Feb. 3, 1919, with a protest against the drastic acts of the Cheka. He wrote: "We may all have different opinions about the Red Terror, but what is going on now in the province is not at all a Red Terror, but a capital crime."

I will not dwell on the picture of the excesses of the Terror, which fill the record of Russian life at that time. He who wishes to find confirmation in concrete facts may turn to my book, where hundreds of these facts are given, taken from the most varied sources. Life brought up again before us Russians well-known scenes of the history of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century in the period of the Jacobin Terror. We encounter here recorded facts of wholesale drownings on ships, of medieval torture-chambers of the most cynical forms, of wholesale shooting, compared with which the bloody battles recorded by history grow pale; of the erotic orgies of local kinglets, small despots, who, supported by their "revolutionary conscience," set themselves up as supreme rulers over the lives and destinies of those arrested and held as hostages. For in the name of attaining revolutionary aims and "their own desires," everything was permitted, as the *Krasnyi Mech*, the organ of the Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, declared, repeating Lenin's words.

#### ABUSERS OF THE TERROR

The Central Power was essentially powerless to oppose those who may be called the abusers of the Terror. It could not find other agents. Though in individual instances it strove to control such abusers, as a matter of fact in the great majority



M. MENZHINSKY

Head of the G. P. U., the Political Department  
of the Soviet Government

of cases it was forced to cover these agents with the cloak of its own authority, to protect and justify the activity of the *Chekisti* (members of the Cheka). "We must all be agents of the Cheka," declared Bukharin. "The Cheka is the beauty and pride of the Communist Party," said Zinoviev. "The Extraordinary Commission is the best that the Soviet organ can give us," wrote Latsis, the Cheka historian, and one of its most zealous leaders as the Chairman of the Central Commission in the Ukraine. While some of the Bolshevik members raised their voice in indignant protest against what was being done under the banner of the "revolutionary conscience," against the transformation of provincial branches into bandit and marauding organizations, according to the expression of the first Bolshevik Commissar of Justice, other authoritative voices spoke in defense of the Cheka. In the same *Cheka Weekly*, already cited, there was published an attack on the charges brought by "soft-bodied," "weak-nerved" *intelligentsia*, by certain strong-nerved authorities, such as one of the most prominent Chekisti, Peters, who said: "There is nothing to faint over."  
\* \* \* New people are not used to judicial

wisdom. \* \* \* It is absurd to limit by a judicial framework the activity of the Cheka." In No. 5 of the *Weekly* in reply to the accusations, there even appeared an article which embodied an original argument in defense of the penetration into the Cheka of criminal elements: "It means that we are strong, for rogues are a practical people who do not go together with the weak."

The penetration of these elements into the Cheka organization tended to demoralize the Cheka organization all the more, because of the fact that in every respect it transformed itself into a specially privileged institution, not only in the fullness of its power but also in the conditions of material existence in which the rank and file of the Chekisti found themselves. It was a kind of government within a government. Requisitions, goods and food products went for the needs of the Chekisti. In the days of famine which the population lived through, from 1918 to 1920, the Chekisti had special rations. Service in the Cheka was often a way of getting rich; it meant the possibility of living well and on a large scale, as the commissions engaged not only in the struggle against counter-revolution, but also against speculation. Hence those innumerable abusers of power above referred to. Wholesale search and arrest furnished the Cheka agents a means of providing themselves with what they needed. Plunder, forgery, bribery mark the history of an institution which was to "stand on guard over the revolution," and to draw to itself Communists devoted to the cause. It is clear that a former circus clown, a former keeper of a house of ill-fame, former criminals with a definitely criminal record who penetrated into the Cheka remained under the Communist toga what they were in reality.

#### CHEKA CYNICISM—TERRORISM

All the background of the Red Terror was bound to exercise a degenerative influence on the active workers of the Cheka. The destruction of the enemy leads to a view of the utter worthlessness of human life in the eyes of those who conduct such a policy. Death seems too common; it is too easy to pronounce death sentences. Before me lie original protocols of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. In reading them one is always surprised by the extreme simplicity of the forms of the "Legal Proceedings." The "revolutionary conscience" allows, for instance, at one session, consideration of fifty-nine cases, and in twenty-five cases the decree of execution

by shooting. In the protocols are contained death sentences over the signature of Latsis himself, without even the date being given when they were issued. It is unnecessary in order to learn the actual activity of the Extraordinary Commission to penetrate into far-off provincial regions, where various forms of abuse of power could be met with especially often, where the Cheka could absorb more easily elements which we call criminal, for even in the centre of events, when the names of those executed were published in the General Assembly, one is surprised by the ignoring of questions which the human conscience and morale ask those who put into practice the right of the revolution to commit murder. The last names only were published with unusual carelessness; people were shot "by mistake," people of the same name were shot, people without names were shot, with a brief comment: "Counter-revolutionary by conviction," "a counter-revolutionary hard to catch," and so on, or simply, under the circumstances of the Red Terror such and such a number were shot. "We do not need evidence or cross-examinations or suspicion to justify shooting. We find it useful, and we shoot," declared with great cynicism one of the active Chekisti (in Kungur).

The aim of the Cheka was not only to destroy the enemy but also to intimidate him; in the words of Latsis, to kill in him every desire to "sabotage" the Government. Aiming to affect the soul, a whole system of terrorization was built up, going as far as wholesale arrests of hundreds and thousands, night trials, terrible conditions of prison life, a room with cork (soundproof) walls, feigned shootings and shootings "for every case." It was most likely with the aim of intimidation that in that official organ of the Extraordinary Commission, already more than once referred to, there was printed that significant appeal to obtain evidence by torture. This really historical document, under the title "Why Do You Take Mild Measures!" written by the representative of one of the provincial commissions, was published in connection with the well-known case of the British Consul Lockhardt. "Tell us," said the article, "why you did not subject this man Lockhardt to the most refined tortures in order to obtain information. Tell us why, instead of subjecting him to such tortures as would send a cold chill over the counter-revolutionaries at the mere recital of it, you allowed him to leave the Cheka. Enough of sentimentalism! Catch a dangerous scoundrel. Get all

the information you can from him and send him to the heavenly kingdom." Is it necessary to point out how such appeals from the Centre must have spurred on the Cheka agents to action?

Formally, and more demagogically, the Red Terror, created by the Communist power in the name of the proletariat, was aimed at the so-called bourgeois classes. Actually its chief characteristic was terrorization and the physical extermination of all opposers of the Soviet power, regardless of the property class to which they belonged. The principle, "Poison for the bourgeoisie, comrades exhortation for workmen and peasant," was only the expression of a demagogic principle. Only with a demagogic object did the "proletarian origin" sometimes admit extenuating circumstances. Kautsky called the Terror "fraternal murder, committed exclusively, because of the will to power," and he was more than right. Owing to the manner in which the executions were published by the Bolsheviks, it is almost impossible to determine the social position of those executed. But it is characteristic that occasional data show a minimum percentage of bourgeoisie.

#### INTELLIGENTSIA AND PEASANTS VICTIMS

My card-record of 1918-1919 showed the largest percentage to be of the *intelligentsia*—that is, "the servants of the bourgeoisie," to use the terminology of the Bolshevik classification—and of the peasants, representing the *petit bourgeois* interests. If we take the later data of the year 1923, we find more than 40 per cent. of the workman-peasant group. Wholesale shootings carried out by the Cheka by all possible punitive expeditions, as a matter of fact, affected the masses, viz., the workmen and peasants. We might note the decrees of wholesale murder of "well-to-do" peasants. When, during the repression of the peasant disorders in the villages (especially in the Tambov *guberniya*, in the year 1921), the Bolsheviks shot "every eleventh" and even "every fourth," as the official document in question states, it is hardly necessary to take into account the qualification of "well-to-do." The "pitiless punishment" at the order of Trotsky of the Astrakhan workmen in March, 1919, marked a hecatomb of the proletariat in the real sense of the word.

Such was the Red Terror in its first period, within which we include the years 1918-1921. This was a time when an active civil war was going on, but after the Soviet power in one way or another issued victori-





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ous—in the South after the fall of the rule of General Denikin, in the Crimea after the evacuation of General Wrangel, in Siberia after the régime of Admiral Kolchak, in the North everywhere—the same picture may be observed; the act of vengeance on the defeated enemy is carried out, the annihilation of the future enemy, the enemy *in spe*. Not caught with guns in their hands, but remaining on the territory which had fallen under the Soviet's control, those who participated in the civil war (especially the officers) were subjected to wholesale destruction. Tens of thousands were arrested after the issue of orders declaring the indispensability of registration and tens of thousands were shot. A bloody butchery, in the literal sense of the word. It is enough to refer to at least the official publications, keeping in view that they always understated. For example, in the "News of the Provisional Revkom (Revolutionary Commission) of Sebastopol," on Nov. 28, 1920, the estimate of 1,634 executions was published, and two days later another of 1,202. In the little town of Kertch the local *Izvestiya* gives an estimate of 800. The Odessa Cheka itself fixes the figure of shootings in 1920-21 at 1,418 men.

In the Crimea, where Bela Kun held sway, the number of those shot in that liquidation of 1920-21 was estimated at more than 100,000. Wholesale shootings became so serious that they even called forth an investigation by Moscow, undertaken mostly, it is true, to influence public opinion.

#### CONTINUED AFTER DEATH PENALTY ABOLISHED

The Red Terror in this period of liquidation was carried on despite the official admission that open civil war had virtually ceased and that the "revolutionary proletariat" was able to "lay aside the weapon of terror," to which "the Government of Workmen and Peasants had been obliged to resort." Thus read the declaration of the All-Russian Cheka over the signature of Dzerzhinsky, published on Jan. 20, 1920, in the *Izvestiya*, and ordering all organs of the Cheka to discontinue the application of the most extreme forms of punishment. It was impossible, however, to attribute any great significance to this decree of the Cheka, confirmed somewhat later by a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissaries and the V. Ts. I. K. (the Central Executive Committee), for a whole year before that it had also been solemnly proclaimed that "the proletariat \* \* \* turns away from the weapon of Terrorism, making law and justice its weapons." An indisputable fact: the night before the issue of the decree abolishing the death penalty in the Cheka sentences became a "night of blood," in the words of one of the horrifying inscriptions traced on the walls of the cell of the condemned men in the Cheka prison in Moscow.

And in Moscow and Petrograd and everywhere in the province there occurred intensive shootings in those days of the formal abolition of the death penalty. Within a month there was introduced by a secret circular a formal reservation destroying the intention of the Cheka's previous prohibition of independent shootings. "In view of the discontinuance of the death penalty," the Cheka circular sent to the local Cheka organizations read, "it is ordered to send all persons now subject to the extreme penalty to the zone of military operations as a place to which the decree of discontinuance of the death penalty does not extend."

The shootings continued. In May, in connection with the Polish-Russian war, the death penalty was officially revived all over Russia. To what extent it was openly applied in the so-called revolutionary military tribunals, organically linked with the

Cheka, even official figures published in the Soviet newspapers show. For instance, in July-August there was published in the *Izvestiya* the figure of 1,183 deaths; in August-September, 1,206. The shootings were carried out on every pretext, as is seen in the published reports; for counter-revolution, for rebellion, for having arms, even for disorderly conduct in a state of drunkenness.

#### "QUIET TERROR" UNDER G. P. U.

The picture did not change essentially in the period following. For tactical reasons in 1922 the name of the Cheka was changed to the Government Political Office. But the substance and form of the Cheka organization, and even its personnel activities remained unchanged. And the G. P. U. as it was now called, bore the same reputation as the Cheka.

The new period of the Red Terror was called the period of the "Quiet Terror," for throughout the country under the weight of the Terror all vestiges of political life disappeared. The people, psychologically depressed and physically exhausted, showed no political activity. And nevertheless, as of old, the prisons were filled with political prisoners. Wholesale arrests and wholesale deportations, decreed by the courts and by the orders of the Administration, to remote, forgotten, depopulated and climatically most undesirable places in Siberia, Turkestan and the Solovets Islands took place daily. The power of the G. P. U. extends as before to the lives of those arrested, and when the G. P. U. considers it useful, it arbitrarily finishes off its victim (the Cheka's right of shooting in special circumstances was again revived in 1924). Universal espionage, penetrating into private homes, into individual apartments, into individual families, tracks down the appearance of an anti-Soviet spirit among the various classes of the population. The forms in which the Quiet Terror were carried out were marked by more "revolutionary justice" than the bloodthirsty orgies of the period of military Communism and civil war. This "revolutionary justice" is expressed therein, that the unlimited functions of the former Cheka are limited, and certain of them are given over to the courts. "Inevitably," wrote Lenin, the infallible Communist authority, in 1918, "in the measure that the original aim of the (Bolshevist) power becomes not military repression, but government, the typical manifestation of repression and condemnation will be not shooting down on the spot, but the trial in

court." But the court should not in any way be different "from such an organ as the Cheka," declares Krylenko in his book *Court and Law in S. S. R.* (Soviet Russia), published in 1927. Krylenko again refers to the testament of Lenin, recalls the words uttered by him in the first period of the New Economic Policy: "The revolutionary courts must decree execution by shooting when it is proved that the accused is a Menshevik." Fully forty-three articles of the Criminal Code give the revolutionary courts the possibility to sentence the accused to death in the Soviet Republic. Is not this the Red Terror? That is the New revolutionary court. But the Red Terror, also, in the sense in which it is depicted by the Communist idealists, may always rise in its turn, for none except the "hysterical woman-intellectuals doubt its necessity," said Vladimir Ilyitch (Lenin) on March 6, 1922. "If it becomes necessary we will bring it forth again." It became necessary in the Summer months of 1927, when under the circumstances of the Red Terror there began on all sides in Russia arrests of hostages and shootings on a wholesale scale.

#### THE "TERROR" PASSING

It is incontestable that the breaking out every now and then of flashes of the "hysterical Terror" (an expression of one of the notorious leaders of the Cheka—Peters) does not have at the present time and cannot have the character of that really medieval nightmare, which it was in the first years following the seizure of the Government by the Bolsheviks. The Governmental Terror has been so habitual a phenomenon that people have become accustomed to it and it has ceased to frighten. The psychological depression of the terrorized population is gradually passing; the people are awakening to revolutionary activity and protest against the despotic group of political leaders standing at the head of the Government. The Governmental Terror is giving birth to the Terror of the discontented aimed at the agents of the Government and the representatives of the G. P. U. A new generation is appearing on the scene of history. It is alien to the moods and reasoning in the atmosphere of which the Red Terror was born and existed. The unity of the Communist Party itself is broken—a unity absolutely essential for the deliberate realization of that Jacobin policy which the Communist power has sought to follow for the last ten years.

Naturally, the question is asked: How

many victims of the Red Terror may be estimated during the last ten years? Unfortunately there is no answer to this question, and even history will scarcely be able to answer it. There was too much disorder in the application of the Red Terror in the period of the civil war in Russia. No one can ever calculate the number of shootings of "hostages" in the Autumn months of 1918 or during the period above referred to as that of the liquidation of the civil war. Space prevents me from dwelling on this question of statistics. Latsis, in his statistics for the second half of 1918, estimated 4,500 executions by shooting. My card-index for that period has 5,000 cards. Moreover, I deliberately left out of account evidence concerning the shootings that occurred during the punitive expeditions. Of course, I was able only to enter far fewer cases than those known to the central organs of the Cheka. It is possible categorically to assert that the secret shootings were recorded in infinitely lesser number than the actual occurrences. But the really horrible aspects of the days of the Red Terror have never yet appeared in print. The

commission investigating in the period of the Government of General Denikin the activity of the Bolsheviki in South Russia estimated the number of victims of the Red Terror in 1918-1919 at 1,700,000 persons—an estimate based only on the territory won back from the Bolsheviki by Denikin's forces. It could not extend its inquiry to the centre of Russia, to the north, to the vast zone of the Volga, to the western part of Russia, or finally to Siberia. Statistical data always depend on the method applied to the statistics. The death sentences of the Cheka, of course, could not have reached the figure given (1,700,000), but if we take the wholesale executions, the shootings "on the spot," the shootings on the punitive expeditions, I think that the estimates of the Denikin Commission cannot be very far from the truth. At all events, not by thousands, but by tens of thousands of shootings, must we speak of the death sentences of the Cheka or the G. P. U. And by hundreds of thousands, if not more, must we speak when the Red Terror is discussed in its full significance.

PARIS, FRANCE.



A crowd, mostly of workers, listening to a speech in the Red Square, Moscow, in the Spring of 1927. The young man wearing the *lapti* (sandals) and the wrappings, something like puttees, around his legs, is a peasant type



# The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union

By SIR GEORGE ASTON, K. C. B.

MAJOR GENERAL, BRITISH ARMY (RETIRED); A LEADING BRITISH WRITER ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

THE story of the collapse of the Czarist Army of Russia in 1917 belongs to the history of the Great War; it is with the new Army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, ten years later, that I propose to deal in this little sketch. The republics grouped under that long title include a population of nearly 140,000,000, of whom nearly 103,000,000 dwell in Europe. Every year nearly a million are of the age for undergoing a two years' course of military training, and of these about 270,000 are incorporated in the regular forces, including the Red Army and Navy, Customs Police, and so forth. Large numbers are also drafted for training in the Territorial Army units, of which more anon. For these there are about 4,500 training centres in the country, where, according to latest and perhaps not quite reliable advices, over 800,000 men were recently undergoing training.

A strong feature of the whole system is the precaution taken by the nominally supreme authority, the Central Executive Committee of the Union, to curtail as much as possible the powers and influence of the purely military authorities by honeycombing the military administration and the army units with political personnel, thus following the precedent of the armies of the French Revolution before the day of Napoleon's supremacy.

As in the Soviet Government and political organization, so in the army, we find a plethora of authorities, with polysyllabic designations that do not lend themselves to clear explanation or to locating definite responsibility. Thus, beginning at the top, we find the Central Executive Committee practically as dictators, with power to declare war, to make peace, and to exercise general, including financial, control; but also a Soviet of People's Commissaries, to carry out its decrees; a Soviet for Labor and National Defense; a People's Commissariat for military and naval affairs; a Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Union, which appears to exercise a general executive control over all important branches of military affairs, and also appoints the per-

sonnel of the Political Department to carry out both the political and the general training of the army. The Commander-in-Chief, appointed by the Soviet of People's Commissaries, is a member of this Military Soviet, and he nominally controls the strategic employment of the forces, but subject to the proviso that he must keep the People's Commissaries and the Revolutionary Military Soviet informed of his procedure. There is no need to follow the list through the various subsidiary bodies, taking note only that to each, down to commanding officers of units, are attached political authorities, for whom history, especially that of the first armies of Revolutionary France in the late eighteenth century, provides precedents not encouraging to workers for military efficiency in the field.

The Union is divided into nine military areas, with headquarters at Moscow, Leningrad, Samara, Kharkov, Rostov, Smolensk, Tashkent, Novo Nikolayesk and Tiflis. The troops are of the usual arms of the service, infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers; and to these are added technical corps, which include armored car, railway and signal units, and also the air forces and the chemical warfare troops, besides the various auxiliary services to provide for supply, lines of communication, transport, and so forth. The field army organization provides for light infantry corps (of all arms), including two light infantry divisions, with heavy artillery and engineers added. Each of these light infantry divisions (of all arms) contain three light infantry regiments (each of three battalions), with light artillery, howitzers, engineers, a motor group and a cavalry regiment. Cavalry corps contain two cavalry divisions, each of which contains three cavalry brigades of two regiments, horse artillery (three batteries), field engineers, and so forth. An independent cavalry brigade contains an extra cavalry regiment and less artillery.

No official information is forthcoming about the actual number of the above units that are comprised in the field army. The Red Army has been estimated unofficially

as being composed of 63 infantry divisions, 12 cavalry divisions and 43 cavalry brigades. The infantry has been estimated at 189 regiments, the cavalry at 96 regiments, the artillery at 503 batteries and the engineers at 29 pioneer battalions. We shall, I should say, be on the safe side if we increase this infantry estimate by 15 per cent. and reduce the cavalry by about 23 per cent.

So much for the general organization of the field army, but the Red Army as a whole contains not only field troops but also training detachments, charged with the special work which their title describes, and, more especially, with training instructors and specialists. The training centres could be expanded into new formations for the field army if required. There are also auxiliary detachments, such as labor units, for work behind the fighting line. In these we find the "bourgeoisie," men fit for military duty but not embodied in fighting and armed units for fear that their political sympathies should not be with the Soviet régime; and again, there are special troops at the disposal of the Political Department in all the military areas, as an additional safeguard. The ranks of these troops are filled by older men, who have completed their army service, and have been permitted to volunteer for the work. Frontier guards and special troops complete the list. They are mostly Communists. It is claimed that the whole system lends itself to being placed on a war footing very quickly. Mobilization for war is the business of yet another body, the Military Commissariats of the Departments and Districts, and a lesson, that was learned by all nations in the Great War, has been embodied. War is not the business only of armies but of nations. Mobilization does not apply only to the fighting troops but also to the civil population behind them. Women, as well as men, are affected. Those who can be classed as "workers" according to Soviet classification may perform certain army duties in peace, under conditions laid down by law; and in time of war they can be called upon to perform special services of a military nature.

#### RED ARMY'S EQUIPMENT

Passing from the strength, organization and composition of the field army to its armament, many of the infantry magazine rifles in use are of the 1891 pattern, holding five cartridges in the magazine. There are also automatic rifles of the Choda and Feodoroff patterns, claiming to fire from

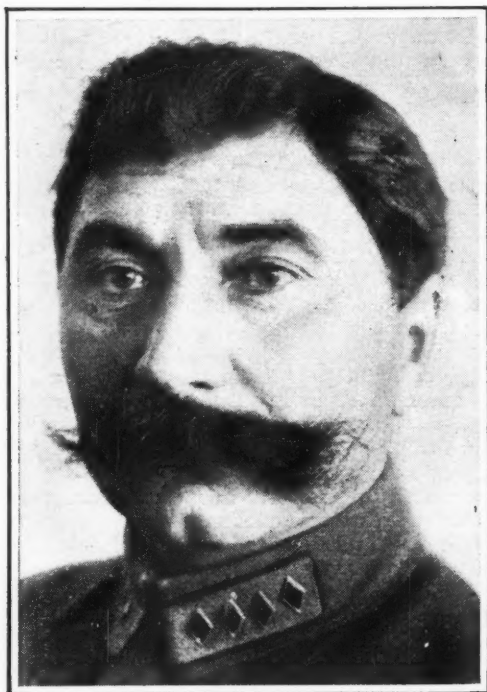
80 to 150 rounds in a minute. The Lewis light automatic gun is also in use, as are Maxim and Colt machine guns, all firing about 500 rounds a minute, and revolvers and pistols of the Nagane and Browning patterns are employed. The infantry is also said to be in possession of some light quick-firing guns of 37-millimeter calibre of the McLean and Rosenberg patterns, the artillery also being armed with these models and with guns of 76, 107 and 153 millimeter calibre and howitzers of 122-millimeter calibre. In the engineers, besides the usual sappers, miners, bridgers and electric searchlight personnel, we read of camouflage companies, of motorcyclist corps and of automobile parks. On paper, then, we find the Red Army well equipped, though much of the material is not up-to-date. The supply of ammunition, on the vast scale prescribed by the needs of modern warfare, would present some difficulties.

We have taken note of the points that only to "workers" is entrusted the service in the combatant units, the remainder of the population being used in the Territorial Reserve for other military activities upon



KLEMENTII E. VOROSHILOV

President of the Revolutionary Military Council and Commissar for Military and Navy Affairs; born 1881



SEMION MIKHAILOVICH BUDENNY  
Inspector of Cavalry, that is, Commander of  
all the mounted forces of the Red Army

which the efficiency of the combatant forces must nevertheless depend. Besides this proviso about arming only the workers, additional safeguards to ensure support for the autocratic dictators are provided in the form of political representatives in all the army formations, and of political troops. Compulsion for military service (which includes service in the navy and certain ancillary government services) applies, in some form, to every male from the age of nineteen to forty years. It is the business of the Soviets of Labor and Defense to determine the numbers to be called up every year to serve in the regular army or the territorial formations, or to receive military training outside the army for six months (not more than two months in any one year). Certain preparatory military training is undergone between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. After that age those chosen by lot for such service go for five years to the regular army or to the territorial formations, as may be determined, but long periods, varying with the various branches, are spent on furlough.

The Peoples' Commissary for Military and Naval Affairs has powers to recall men on

leave to rejoin their units, and thus largely to increase the strength of the peace army, without calling out the reserves. These reserves are divided into two classes, the first including men up to thirty-four years of age, the second class those over that age, but still subject to military service. Pains are taken to call up reservists for training for a total period not exceeding three months. Certain exemptions from military service are allowed for special family reasons, or on religious grounds, and students may be permitted to postpone their service under certain conditions. Those in higher educational establishments undergo preparatory military training.

We now come to the question of leadership, an all-important one in a country in which about 80 per cent. of the population is illiterate, and both personality and initiative are dangerous qualities to display under a class dictatorship established and maintained by terror. Both colleges and schools are in existence for military training. At the Red Army Military College a general education is obtained, as well as training in military subjects. There are also colleges for artillery, for military engineering and technical subjects, for direction and leadership, for the Navy, for aviation, and for army medical and veterinary work. The object of the colleges is to provide suitable training for officers, up to the higher military commands. The military schools are for less advanced training for non-commissioned ranks according to the arm of the service (infantry, cavalry, or artillery), and the courses there last from three to four years, provision being made for refresher courses of eight months' duration. Political, as well as military training is given in the military schools, with a view to future eventualities.

Such, as far as we can gather from published documents and reports, is the general nature of the most bulky military organization in the world, the Red Army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which spreads over about 21,200,000 square kilometers in Europe and Asia, with frontiers touching China, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Finland and the Baltic States. A feature of the Russian frontiers is that, though they are formed by seacoasts in the Far East, in the Black Sea, and in the Arctic Ocean, they provide no ice-free harbor with direct access to oceans; and that takes us to the subject of the Red Navy.

Without a navy of great strength, the Red Army can never be a menace to na-



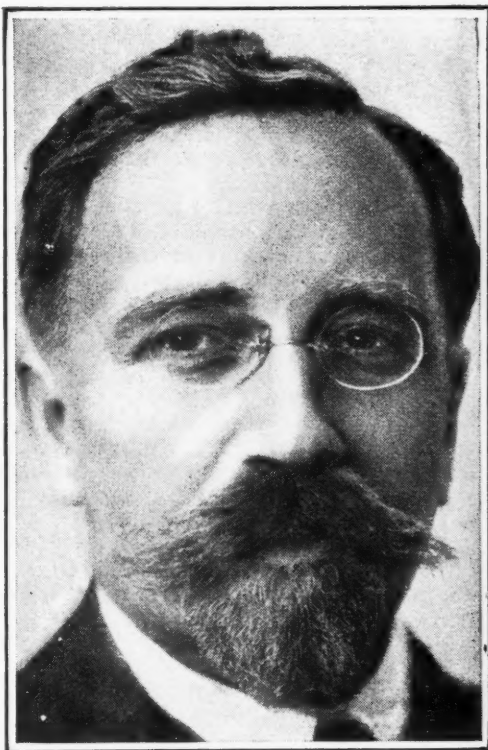
tions beyond the seas. The Red Navy is not strong. In the Baltic there were, according to latest advices, two battleships, sixteen years old, each mounting twelve guns of 12-inch calibre, smaller guns, and four torpedo tubes; three cruisers, thirteen destroyers and nine submarines. In the Black Sea there were two cruisers, three destroyers, three torpedoboats, four submarines, and about twenty miscellaneous craft, if we include the armed vessels of the flotillas on the Caspian, Volga, and Amur. The total tonnage of the Red Navy has been given as 129,000, wherein are included, as we have noted, two battleships, five cruisers, twenty-two destroyers and torpedoboats, and thirteen submarines. Note will doubtless be taken of the point that both the Black Sea and the Baltic are enclosed by narrow straits; the Dardanelles, with Turkish territory on both sides, and the Belts and Sound, of which the first pass Danish and German territory, the second Danish and Swedish. Naval censorship is very strict, and, like the Red Army, the Red Navy is honeycombed with political personnel. A battleship carries nine such officials, the highest equal in rank with the captain. The political staff in smaller ships is in due proportion. It is said that attempts are being made to train the political commissars as combatants, but that they are temperamentally unsuitable. A few new submarines are being built, but little else. (See R. U. S. I. Journal, London, August, 1927).

Expenditure on national defense is now embodied in the single budget (established by a law of Oct. 29, 1924) of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the latest, for which details can be given, is that for the financial year 1925-26, ending on Oct. 1, 1926. This shows us that there has been a steady yearly increase in expenditure on armaments and in training personnel in their employment. The figures for 1925-26 show an increase of 43 per cent. on 1924-25, and 62 per cent. on 1923-24. The total provided in the estimates amounted to about 635,000,000 rubles at stabilized rates, the equivalent of about 342,000,000 at the pre-war value of 1914.

All this expenditure, and the organization of so vast a population upon a military basis, is naturally a subject of comment and conjecture in the Chancelleries of other States, especially those on the borders of the Socialist Soviet Republics embodied in the Union. That any other nation should contemplate the conquest of the vast territory of the Union by the use of invading armies is inconceivable. With the prece-

dents of 1812 and of 1914-19 as warnings, such procedure would apparently be sheer madness. Nevertheless, we constantly read reports of speeches by various Soviet authorities, to which wide publicity is given, accusing one nation or another of such intentions, usually Great Britain. If we put aside as equally inconceivable the idea that the Red Forces are designed for offensive action, following up the campaign of propaganda against the established social and political conditions in other countries, there remains only the assumption that it is considered necessary to discipline the whole population, through the medium of military training and the possession of weapons by all in sympathy with the Government, in order to suppress all freedom of choice and maintain the power of that Government to rule over the vast territories comprised in the Union.

So far we have only touched upon air forces and upon units for the conduct of gas warfare as integral portions of the Army. According to reliable information the authorities of the Union have been striv-



L. V. KAMENEV  
Soviet Ambassador to Italy

ing to create a strong force of aircraft, of which the strength in personnel in time of peace is said already to have reached 10,000. No information is published about the number of military aircraft that are owned by the authorities. There are believed to be between forty and fifty squadrons, with a total of nearly six hundred airplanes.

#### PROPAGANDA AS A WEAPON

In the study of gas warfare and preparations for its employment considerable progress is said to have been made, and here again we are left in doubt about the object of such preparations in so vast a country, practically immune from attack by foreign armies. Recent events in China have disclosed a policy of subversive propaganda beyond the frontiers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the instruction of the Chinese in a system of strategy in which words, with an ignorant and gullible population, become the decisive weapon, more deadly than lethal armaments; armies, under such a system, have as their chief mission the control of territory already overcome through the medium of propaganda. As much of that is biased, and based on false premises, victories so gained may be of short duration, judging by the Bolshevik experience of applying such strategy to populations and armies in China, but the end in that sorely harassed territory is not yet in sight. In view of the proclaimed object of the followers of Lenin to bring about a world revolution, considerable interest is attached to the effective use made of Lenin's avowed principle that "the soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the delivery of the mortal blow both possible and easy." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, new Vol. III, page 429.) A strong feature of this form of military strategy is that the first stage can be put in force, and continue for years, in countries selected as the victims of ultimate attack, without a declaration of war or a state of actual belligerency. A cor-

responding weak feature is that it depends for success upon the seeds of sedition being sown on suitable ground. In a free nation, in which the rulers depend for their power upon popular representation of an educated electorate, such soil is difficult to find; but all nations contain elements, some of high-minded and impractical visionaries, and some of criminal classes dissatisfied with things as they are, both of them ready to resort to violence in the hope thereby of creating a new heaven and a new earth by methods more rapid than the natural process of evolution upon which human progress has hitherto depended.

To summarize: The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which has replaced Czarist Russia maintains a great army, numerically the strongest in the world. According to a moderate estimate, about 10,000,000 of the manhood of the population have already received military training, varying in degree. The right of bearing arms is confined to those believed to be in sympathy with the existing régime, and the normal field army, raised on a system common to other conscript countries, is supplemented by a special political army. This organization is peculiar to Russia. To supplement the army there is a small navy, with no traditions behind it—an important factor where sea power is an issue at stake—and a formidable air force, aided by a special department for the study and development of gas warfare.

Access to the high seas has always been, and may again be, an incentive to Russian territorial expansion in order to satisfy economic requirements, but the great expanse of Russian territory, and the lack of internal communications therein, are great handicaps to any military effort beyond the frontiers. The hostility of the present régime to nations not in sympathy with Bolshevik principles is notorious, but under present conditions it takes the form of subversive propaganda, rather than that of military aggression.

LONDON, ENGLAND, August, 1927.



# Russia's Revolutionary Morals

By V. F. CALVERTON

EDITOR OF *The Modern Quarterly*

TO the Western mind Russia is at once a strange confronting of mingled faces and forms, a conflux of cultures at once Asiatic and European, a world old in character but new in aspiration. From an artistic point of view, it is an assembly of exquisite contrasts, a mosaic of the miscellaneous. In Moscow, for instance, these contrasts are immediately conspicuous. Turrets and steeples, churches that multiply with every change of vision, remind of a land that was religious in a land that is now the enemy of religion. On one of the walls of the Kremlin are carved the words of Marx, "Religion is the opium of the people," and directly adjacent, within a stone's throw, is a little church in which an aged priest doles out religion by the kopeck. It is an odd contrast, this. Yet in this contrast something of the task as well as something of the achievement of Russia is to be discerned.

That Russia is against the priest is not to be doubted. The very declarations of Bukharin, in reference to the atheism implicit in the doctrine of the materialist conception of history, announce that fact with clarity and vigor. Yet people are allowed to worship where they will, though their religious activities are given no aid or encouragement. The attitude of the Government is critical but not destructive. Its purpose is to destroy religion by educating the youth in the supremacy of science rather than by coercing the old through the extinction of their ritual. In this aim the Bolsheviks have been singularly successful. The youth of Russia is largely without religion. On the streets begging clerics, thick-haired, ascetic, hungry individuals, with their long, dust-covered cloaks, are a not infrequent spectacle. If the older generation clings to something of the ancient worship, the young certainly does not. This fact has been borne out by practically every person who has studied the problem of religion in Russia. It is but part of the new conflict between fathers and children. If the old generation has not been entirely converted to the new philosophy, the younger generation has. And youth is one of the powerful forces in contemporary Russia!

It has been the habit of Western coun-

tries to exalt age and curb youth. In this attitude the spirit of senescence has predominated. Our judges, for example, are almost uniformly men of late years. In fact, our whole officialdom, with but few exceptions, is either middle-aged or old. This is true not only of America, but of the countries of Europe also. Youth is inconspicuous. Youthful vision in matters of state is considered an impertinence. Ideas and measures are often scorned as being expressions of the exuberance of youth. In the U. S. S. R. the attitude toward youth is refreshingly different. Youth there is a factor in the new society. Its activities become a matter of deep consideration and significance. Its ideas are given serious attention; its opinions are given voice in approximately every organization or representative body in the nation. Forty per cent. of the working youth in Russia, for instance, is included in the membership of the Russian Leninist Young Communist League. This league also includes peasants and intellectuals as well as workers. Workers and peasants can join the league without difficulty, but students and intellectuals have to go through a year's probation before their membership becomes full-fledged and complete. This league has a membership of 2,500,000 between the ages of 14 and 23. For boys and girls between 9 and 14 there is the organization known as the Pioneers. It is in the Pioneers and the Russian Leninist Young Communist League that the future members of the Russian Communist Party are prepared and trained. A youth, however, can become a member of the Communist Party at 18 if his mental development is sufficiently advanced, and at the same time continue as a member of the league. By such extensive organization of the youth of Russia an educational influence can be exercised upon the youthful mind that otherwise would be impossible.

In this way, too, youth plays its part in national affairs. Its representatives in every organization exert a pressure, achieve an influence upon legislation and the general organization of social life. In the school, for example, it is the student council which is decisive. It is an inspiring contrast, for instance, to think of the peasant



youth, educated to an appreciation of economic realities, exerting a power in the decisions of its group, when before the revolution, under the Czar, this youth knew only illiteracy and the superstitions of an ignorant folk. The picture of the workers' youth, however, is scarcely less of a contrast. These young people, now given the opportunity for education which once was the privilege only of the aristocratic and bourgeois classes, represent an attainment of intelligence that has meaning to the entire world. It reveals a transvaluation of reality. For generations sociologists and psychologists have talked foolishly, but not without influence, of the superior intelligence of the upper classes, and the impossibility of ever improving the minds of the lower, the peasantry and proletariat. In Russia, before the revolution, this belief had practically become a religion. But it prevailed as well throughout the entire Western World, and is far from moribund even today. The whole direction of the Russian revolution is a repudiation of that attitude and that conviction. Russia is creating a workers' world, where the once lower class is predominant. This is not only a reversal of approach; it is the reversal of an entire ideology. It is no longer the youth of the aristocracy or the bourgeoisie that are sent to school and university, but the youth of the peasantry and proletariat. From these so-called lower classes, then, as the Western World would categorize them, comes this great youth movement; upon these lower classes, then, is the advantage of education conferred. The youth of any other groups, of the Nepmen (private tradesmen permitted under the conditions of the new economic policy), for instance, are forced to pay for their education, and are allowed the advantage of matriculation only after the needs of the workers and peasant groups have been provided for and protected. In this way it is the workers and peasant youth that are being prepared for the great tasks that confront the future of the U. S. S. R.

#### NEW GROUP LIFE

This type of organization extends all through Russian life. In fact, the aim of the Communist State is to give to life an organizational pattern where before there was nothing but chaos. Through this method an attempt is made to socialize activity that otherwise would be only individualized. Individuals act within groups and derive their privileges from group organizations. Workers secure their medical ser-

vices through their trade unions, acquire many of their rights and prerogatives through these economic units. Sports are run through clubs which are part of the trade union structure. Theatre tickets, at singularly reduced rates for workers, are distributed through the agency of the trade union. In a score of such ways the economic unity which Communism aspires to attain is extended into the scope of everyday social life.

Even to children, still on the tender side of youth, this practice extends. In the Children's Nurseries and Children's Gardens, for example, one can find a very interesting and excellent example of such influence. In Stalingrad there are six Children's Nurseries for children between the ages of 2 and 4 and three Children's Gardens for children over the age of 4. The treatment of the children is remarkably effective. It is always the social attitude that determines the direction of the treatment and the nature of the training. When the mother brings the child to the nursery, for instance, her entire responsibility for the child for the day is in abeyance until she returns for it in the evening. She can go about her day's toil without the least worry for her child's welfare. When each child is brought in in the morning it is given a bath and a bag is assigned to it for its clothes; then it is dressed in the fresh, neat clothes of the Nursery, and is cared for by nurses specially equipped for this work. Every day, before the child is allowed the privilege of the Nursery, it is thoroughly examined by the doctor, and if discovered to have a contagious disease, is immediately excluded and sent to a clinic. This is no slight advantage in Russia where before the Czar's downfall disease was appallingly widespread and child mortality dismayingly frequent. In addition to such care, each child receives four meals a day, and is given instruction according to its age and capacity for response. In the Gardens, of course, there are playgrounds with juvenile athletics in conspicuous display. Six of these institutions have been established in Stalingrad since 1924; there was none before that time. They can be found in many parts of Russia. It would be ridiculous to imagine that these institutions are in such abundance that the entire child population of Russia can be cared for in such exemplary fashion. Lack of capital hinders the construction not only of homes sufficiently numerous to cope with this problem, but with many problems that necessitate developments too costly to be



Wide World

ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI  
Soviet Minister to Mexico

undertaken in anything like adequate style at the present time.

In so many ways, it is obvious, the organizational character of the Communist State has extended its influence over its people. The children and the youth, in particular, as we have seen, have been given this special consideration. The real benefits of the State, of course, are immediately bestowed upon the workers. The eight-hour day, for instance, is universal throughout the Soviet Union; the office workers, it should be added, have only a six-hour day. Every worker has a vacation of two weeks with pay, and with an opportunity of turning to the country, if he be an urban proletarian, for his recreative retreat. Not only are all medical services free for the workers of the U. S. S. R., but for cases of tuberculosis there are regular sanatoriums to which the worker can go, without expense, for treatment and cure. While the worker receives only a wage commensurate with the needs of his life, that is, according to the necessities of his occupation or profession, he secures so

many returns in the form of social benefits, a few of which we have already enumerated—vacations, recreation, medical attention, education, insurance and the like—that one can really make no comparison between the actual wage of a Russian worker, let us say, and an English worker. A survey of the privileges of a worker and a non-worker in the U. S. S. R. will reveal the importance of these advantages which accrue to the proletarian as his share in the benefits of the State. Any person not classed as a worker in Soviet Russia cannot vote, can receive no benefits and has no political status at all. He is taxed on every side. He must use his private resources to secure education or medical attendance. Everything, from his recreation to his residence, is made expensive for him. His theatre ticket, for example, will cost him ten times as much as the price the worker will have to pay for it. The Nepman, also, is in a position not very dissimilar. If his profits above the heavy taxation which he is forced to meet are sufficiently high, he can purchase a few comforts that otherwise could not be afforded, but the chances of his ever attaining a position either as an individual or as a group that would endow him with the dangerous power of a private capitalist are infinitesimal. It is the worker that escapes all this taxation and secures all the advantages.

#### WOMAN'S EQUAL POSITION

In this whole development of the Soviet Republic it is important to show that the woman has in no way suffered. The woman is always treated on an equal basis with the man. Her economic and political rights are in every sense similar. In the matter of position, or rights in the trade union, there is no discrimination between the sexes whatsoever. Indeed, in public meetings women speakers are often as frequent as men, and in the courts women Judges are by no means unknown. In instances of pregnancy she is especially protected. Both before and after birth she is given time away from work, ranging from six to eight weeks, with pay and with medical attention. In addition to her full pay she receives an extra stipend for food for nine months following the birth, if she herself feeds the child. Even after the mother returns to work she is permitted a half-hour in every three and a half hours to feed and care for her child. And it is important to observe that these privileges do not carry with them the qualifications of

the Western World as to the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the child. The treatment is the same for all mothers and all children, regardless of marital registration or its absence. In this way, of course, the old stigma which was inevitably attached to the unmarried mother, and which extended its baneful influence to the child, is annihilated. This change in moral attitude alone is phenomenal.

It can easily be seen that in all of these rights and privileges which are the new heritage of the Soviet citizens the attitude of social cooperation and collective life is paramount.

The same attitude has prevailed in regard to every economic and social problem that confronts the Soviet Republic. Let us take a social evil as malignant as prostitution and observe how it is handled. Every one who knows European civilization realizes how serious and grave is the problem of prostitution. It is impossible to evade it. It glares at you on every side. Every country is festered with it, and Soviet Russia is certainly not immune. Those who come back from the U. S. S. R. with the optimistic report that prostitution has been destroyed one must condemn as either blind or sentimental. One has but to walk along Nikolai Street or Nevsky Prospect in Leningrad or Tverskaya in Moscow to realize that such a report does not coincide with truth. Prostitution does remain, but it is no longer official. In fact, prostitution under the Soviets has been rendered illegal. But the decree does not make it cease. It is true, one must remember, that prostitution once was a profession in old Russia. Brothels were licensed, opened with ceremonies by the police and blessed by the Church. This evil thus had a sanction which it has now entirely lost.

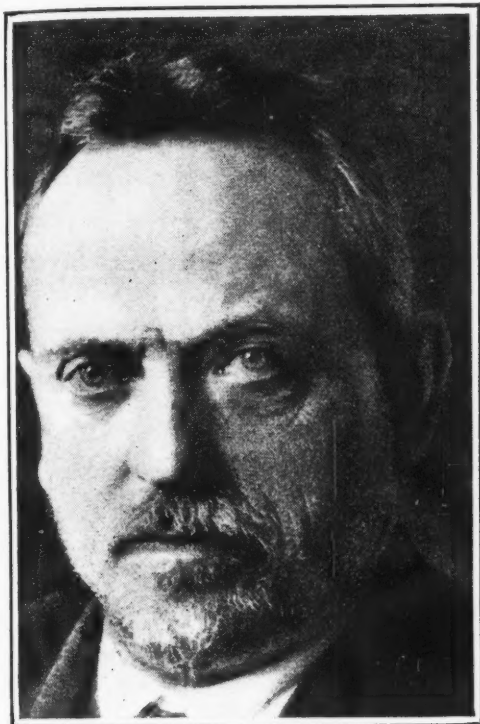
#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST PROSTITUTION

The Russian Communists, however, are realistic and do not attempt to deny evils that exist, but endeavor to combat them. The whole problem has been studied extensively and discussed at great length in press and party. As a result, a certain tactic has been developed as a means of lessening and eventually eliminating this disease. In the first place a constant propaganda is carried on all over the U. S. S. R. against prostitution. Every means of meeting the masses in this matter is utilized, from the printed sheet to the movie. In a photoplay, entitled *The Prostitute*, for example, the whole career of the courtesan is portrayed, with a direct attempt to show

the dangerous consequences of her life for both herself and those who frequent her haunts. One of the most direct ways that has been employed to combat this evil has been the organization of homes for unemployed, houseworking girls (*Izvestiya*, Nov. 11, 1926). Thirty-two per cent. of Moscow prostitutes, it has been calculated, are by occupation houseworkers (*Ibid.*); hence these homes for the unemployed in this work. The Union of Public Health has devoted some of its energy to the organization of homes where all women out of work can sleep. (*Ibid.*) In addition, the Commissariat of Public Health has worked out a project whereby it will be possible to organize a colony that will give work to 3,000 prostitutes and thus pry them away from their trade. The problem has been discussed in detail in many papers and in the edition of *Working Paper* of Jan. 25, 1927, a resolution was submitted to the Moscow Soviet to the effect that single working women should not be laid off "and then prostitution will decrease." It has now been decided that single women must be "laid off" last. In other words, the moment prostitution is suspected from any one or a multitude of causes, an immediate method is applied to destroy it. For a time prostitution was marked at the Sandunovski and Central Bath Houses and at the hotels, whereupon these places were put under strict survey and vigilance. As a result of these efforts on the part of the Russians to study and solve this problem, H. A. Semashko, Commissar of Health, reports that prostitution is on the decline, and that one of the best statistical proofs of this fact is that the percentage of infection from prostitutes is far below that of the pre-war period.

Another problem that confronts the U. S. S. R. (which the American press has exaggerated without attempting to understand) is that of the "homeless children." The homeless children do present a serious problem for the Soviet State. To one who comes to the U. S. S. R. without an understanding of the historic crises which it has experienced in the last decade, the sight of these homeless boys, ranging from 10 and 12 years to 16 and 17, will at once be discouraging and depressing. In truth, unless he comes to understand the problem, his whole experience in the U. S. S. R. may be colored by this one phenomenon. These boys are, indeed, a hideous spectacle. Hungry in look, dirty, half-clothed often, crafty-eyed, furtive in manner, such creatures are scarcely a very cordial greeting when one





DR. N. A. SEMASHKO  
Commissar of Health

meets them at railroad station or corner café. Almost like birds they move in migratory waves across different sections of the country. In the Summer they move from the south to the north, and in the Winter they hop freight trains and flee from the northern latitudes to the southern. They live by begging, stealing and occasionally turning to a momentary occupation for immediate food.

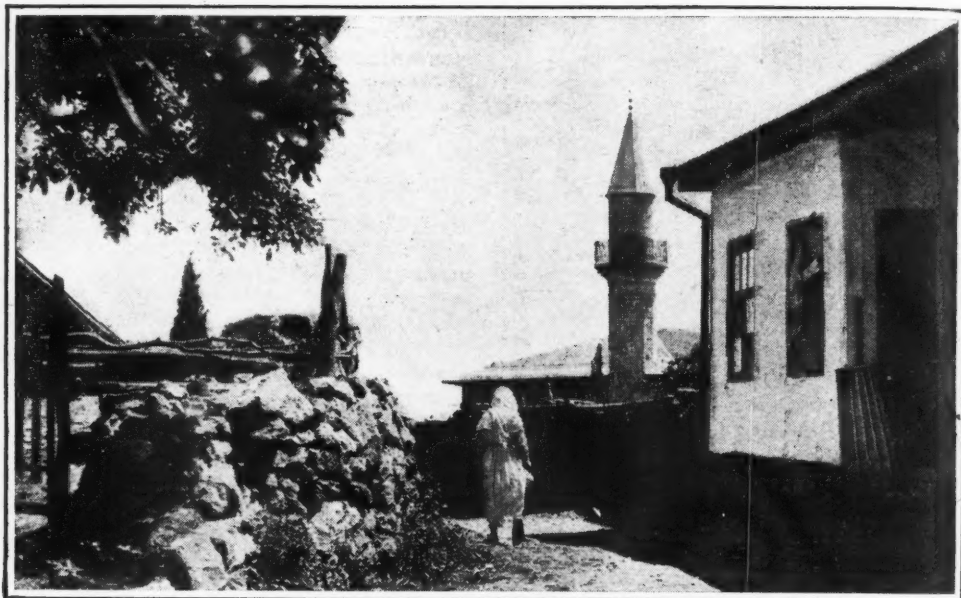
To understand the existence of these nomadic children is to understand the recent history of Russia, for they are the product of a series of crises, primarily the war, military intervention and the famine. As a result of the war Russia lost over 1,500,000 men, with another million and a half incapacitated as a consequence of wounds and disease; during the period of the revolution, with the invasions of Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel, over 6,500,000 fatalities are recorded, and finally with the famine of 1921 and 1922 5,000,000 more lives were wiped out. Such losses were catastrophic. Millions were left homeless and desolate. Homeless children have been an inevitable result of these terrible conditions

of suffering and destruction. Thousands and thousands of children were left parentless, with nothing to do but wander, beg and steal. Thousands and thousands more had no other alternative than to leave home when only starvation remained. At the height of the famine, for example, it is estimated that there were more than a million homeless children infesting the country. Their existence had nothing to do with the Bolshevik régime, as careless and unrepenting journalists have erroneously asserted. They would have sprung up anywhere, under similar conditions, however conservative the ruling order or stable the despotism.

The immediate question that arises in the mind of the Westerner is: Granting the inevitability of the cause, why do these homeless children remain today? Again, the answer requires an understanding of the Russian situation. In the first place, it should be noted, the Bolsheviks are more concerned about the problem of the homeless children than are the sentimental journalists and tender-hearted critics of the West. There is a deep fear on the part of the Communists that these boys, once they have matured into men, will turn into criminals and counter-revolutionists. The Soviet State has endeavored, therefore, to cope with the problem in numerous ways. Special studies of the problem have been made, and a great number of homes have been built to house these homeless children and convert their nomadic tendencies into more settled habits, their destructive reactions into those that are more constructive. The main attempt of the Bolsheviks has been to teach these boys a trade, find them employment, and thus save them from their former life. For a time even corporal punishment had been used, but this tactic was found to be futile. Education has proved to be the only sound method. Since 1922 the numbers of homeless children have been reduced from 1,000,000 to less than 150,000. This reduction attests the efficiency of the educational method.

#### NEW MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE SYSTEM

In the new marital system that has been evolved in the U. S. S. R. another phase of revolutionary Russia is to be discovered. The first important attempt made by the Communists in this direction was to deprive the marriage ceremony of anything of a religious character. Under the Czar marriage had fallen entirely into the hands of the clergy. This control the Bolsheviks immediately severed. Marriage now is en-



A village in the Caucasus

tirely a civil function. All the old impediments to marriage—religious prohibitions and the like—vestiges of the feudal attitude in Russia, are destroyed. The empty noise about the “nationalization of women” is nothing more than myth. A single glance at the Soviet Marital Code reduces such a phrase to ridicule. Instead of the nationalization of women, what is to be found is the emancipation of woman. The marital laws of the U. S. S. R. give no right to the man which is not granted to the woman. The inequality of sexes which is prevalent throughout the rest of the Western World, the double code of morality, have no existence or meaning in contemporary Russia. The laws of nineteenth-century England, which reduced woman to a chattel, without the semblance of political, economic or legal rights, seem the attributes of a barbarous civilization when compared with the rights and freedom of the new woman in Soviet Russia. When a woman marries in the Soviet Union she does not sacrifice her property to her husband and her right to what she may earn during her marital existence. Section 106 of the Marital Code declares that “marriage does not establish community of property between the married persons.” Another instance of the equality and freedom inherent to the woman according to the present code is to be found in Section 104, which states that “the change of residence of one of the parties to

a marriage shall not impose an obligation upon the other party to follow the former.” Thus the woman is given equality of freedom with all the rights appertaining to that privilege.

The new sex attitude in Soviet Russia is based upon the principle that the matter of sex relationship in itself does not constitute a social problem unless children are involved. Marital relationships between the sexes are regulated by registration, the same as in any other country. It is in divorce that the U. S. S. R. deviates from the Western standard. The first consideration in the case of divorce is that of the children. This is the social side of the problem. If there are no children divorce is singularly simple. If two people find their marital life marred by incompatibilities of temperament and reaction they can get a divorce upon that ground; Section 87 of the Code states that “the mutual consent of the husband and wife, or the desire of either of them to obtain a divorce shall be considered a ground for divorce.” The petition for “the dissolution of marriage may be presented orally or in writing”; the actual divorce action is “tried by the local Judge in public.” If the desire for divorce is mutual, then the divorce may be pursued through a regular court procedure. All this freedom in regard to divorce is closely linked up with the general freedom which each party to the marital contract

retains even after marriage. The common surname chosen, for instance, can be either the wife's or the husband's, according to the decision of the couple.

In many other ways the moral life of the U. S. S. R. is constructed upon a different plane, with entirely different shibboleths, from that of the rest of the Christian world. Sex is considered a sane topic that is discussed everywhere with clarity and candor. Birth control is written about in a manner that would at once astonish and terrify a modern American. Pamphlets on the topics are numerous. Indeed, they can be bought at any bookstore or even railroad stations. One pamphlet entitled *Prevention of Child-Birth*, by Dr. M. Z. Shpak, discussing all the possible methods of contraception, has already gone through many editions. Abortion, to cite another instance of this different attitude, is not condemned but legalized. The Commissariat of Public Health in 1920 issued the following mandate in reference to abortions:

1. Operative interruptions of pregnancy without charge are permitted in the hospitals of the Soviet Government.

2. The performance of such an operation by any one other than a physician is most strictly prohibited.

3. The midwife or nurse who shall perform such an operation shall be deprived of the right to practice her calling and shall be turned over to the courts for trial.

4. The physician who performs such an operation in his private practice for motives of gain shall be handed over to the trial court.

In 1924, because of the excessive demand for abortions, the following regulations were established in order to determine in which cases abortions should be effected:

1. Single women, out of work, who are supported by the labor exchange;

2. Single women, employed, who already have one child;

3. Women employed in the industries, who have several children;

4. Wives of workingmen with several children;

5. All the remaining members of the health insurance societies and then women who are not members of any health insurance society.

As a result of this privilege, during the period of 1922-24, more than 55,000 legal abortions were performed in Russian district hospitals. (*Journal of American Medical Association*. Volume 88, No. 4, Section 259).

The Soviet State, it should be emphasized at this point, has taken much care to relate the history of abortion, its utilization by all the peoples of the world before the Christian era, and the false sanctimony which it has acquired during the last 2,000 years. Then, too, the State has shown its function to both the individual and society. As a consequence, abortion has not been abused. The birthrate statistics prove that beyond question. The number of births per 1,000 of population in 1913 was 43.8; in 1924 the number was 43.6. The increase of births over deaths was 16.5 in 1913 and 21.5 in 1925.

In conclusion, one can certainly say, from the material discussed and facts adduced, that Soviet Russia has already laid the early structure of a new morality. The moral life of the new Russia is built about the pivot of social cooperation. Its criteria are the new criteria of a new society. That its failures may be many, and its inadequacies not a few, even the Bolsheviks will not deny. But the direction toward which its achievements point, the spirit behind the projects, the motivating ideal of which they are the concrete expression, are as important as the actual materials which constitute their edifice.

MOSCOW, RUSSIA, August, 1927.



A village street, Samara



# Science, Art and Literature Under Bolshevism

By MARC SLONIM

EDITOR OF *Volya Rossi*, THE LEADING RUSSIAN REVIEW PUBLISHED OUTSIDE THE SOVIET UNION

THE future historian of the Russian revolution will have to take note of a striking fact—the great vitality and intensity of Russian cultural life even in a period of vast national upheaval, which as a rule is far from encouraging to either scientific or artistic work. In spite of severe privations and heavy blows, both physical and moral, Russian science, art and literature have quickly recovered from all they suffered in the first years of the revolution, and are now carrying on and developing, though in an unfavorable atmosphere, the traditions of Russian intellectual life. During the most tempestuous and terrible years of the revolution, from 1917 to 1921, the arts and sciences fell backward, but since 1922 there has been increased activity, and it is in this period that we find the results of present-day creative work. Taking the publication of books as an indication of intellectual activity, we had in 1913 about 34,000 titles yearly. In 1920 book production fell to 3,260 titles, most of them being published for propaganda purposes; in 1923 the number of titles rose to 18,000, and in 1927 it will probably equal the pre-war figure.

During the first years of the revolution, in 1918-1919, Russian scientific life was almost completely paralyzed. Most scientific institutions were closed or looted, and in some cases actually destroyed. In centres struck by the storm of civil war, universities, hospitals and laboratories were closed for many months, while teachers and scientists fled abroad or to remote parts of Russia. The scarcity of housing accommodation all over the country, the use of university buildings by political organizations, the utter lack of scientific equipment and books and the complete isolation from Europe, prevented any kind of systematic scientific work. The condition of scientists and professors was appalling. In 1920-21 they often had to sell their valuable libraries and because of cold, hunger and destitution lose the results of many years' work. An enormous quantity of material disappeared during those years. The complete destruction in the Crimea of the best

Russian zoological station and botanical garden was a typical tragedy of the setback to science. At the same time the Soviet Government was profoundly hostile to the great majority of scientists, because they belonged to the "intelligentsia" and did not accept the new régime. This led to the proclamation of the necessity of creating a proletarian science in opposition to bourgeois science, and it was even proposed that Communistic conceptions should be introduced into mathematics. Numbers of leading scientists were deprived of the right to teach in the high schools, and some of the Faculties, particularly that of law, were almost completely wiped out. The representatives of the exact sciences were somewhat better off, though they also had to make heroic efforts to keep alive the feeble flame of scientific thought in the midst of great privations, working in unheated laboratories, with the light of oil lamps, and often without enough money to buy the most elementary materials for their experiments. Only this heroism of the scientists preserved Russian science in those grim years of revolution. Some of them, for example, Professor Pavlov, the famous physiologist, continued their researches, while literally sacrificing themselves and at every minute running the risk of arrest or a breakdown in health.

After the improvement in conditions that began in 1921-22, and after the Communists had realized their failure to create a special proletarian culture and bring about the mass production of scholars and scientists from students in labor institutions, steps were taken to recognize and help the men of learning of the pre-revolutionary period. A special commission was created for this purpose; homes for scholars and scientists were founded in Moscow and Leningrad—an important thing because of the housing shortage and low salaries—sanatoria were opened near Moscow and in the Crimea; while the Government adopted various measures to re-establish and develop scientific research, though even now the position of the man of learning and scientific worker in Russia is extremely hard. By 1925

the normal course of academic life was resumed; the Academy of Science returned completely to its work, and many scientific institutions were founded or re-established.

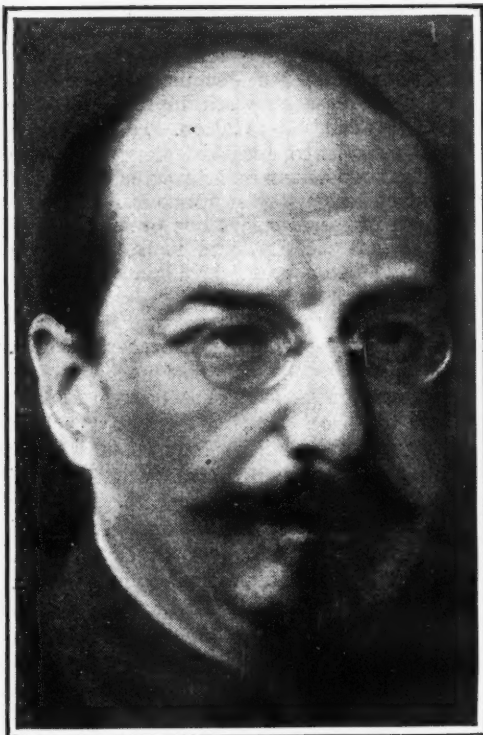
As all the universities, laboratories and learned institutes belong to the State, the extent and character of scientific work depends largely on the amount of support provided by the Government. Naturally, political influences are felt, which helps to explain why the development of the various branches of knowledge in Russia is so uneven and spasmodic. Thus, every endeavor is made to supplant all the professors of sociology, history and economics by Communists or others in close sympathy with Bolshevism. Because of the lack of specialists among the Bolsheviks, numerous university chairs have remained unfilled. In the teaching of history, particular attention is devoted to the period directly preceding the revolution, and a number of special publications have contained valuable historical material on the Imperial period, while there are special institutions for the study of the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. One of the most important of these new centres of research is the Marx and Engels Institute. Though there has been a development in statistics, very little of this work is of scientific value, since most of it was inspired by the economic ideas and aims of the Government. In philosophy the activity has not been particularly intense. On the other hand, literary criticism and the theory of literature have been greatly developed. Much study has been given to the purely formal aspect of artistic works and some of the research has been of value. The new Academy of Literature works on the principle of uniting the problems of teaching with those of scientific research. Probably the greatest recent development has been in economic geography; not only has an important series of works been published (the most remarkable is the great collective work on the natural resources of Russia) but many expeditions have been made, enriching the sciences of geography and archaeology. In biology mention must be made of well-known research work of Professor Pavlov on the reflexes and of Lasarev in the parallel domain of psychophysiology. There has been a general increase of interest in physiology, chemistry and psychology, while the number of works by Russian scientists in all branches of natural history has pointed to exceedingly intense activity. The revival of science is also seen in the resumption of special scientific publications and of scientific

congresses. The Government is particularly encouraging the development of technical knowledge and subsidizes on a generous scale the Technological Institute and also research work in mechanics, applied physics and aviation. However much Russian science may be dependent upon political conditions and however difficult its situation may be at present, its steady growth in recent years has proved its great power and vitality, and it is undoubtedly on its way to a broad development.

#### ART AND LITERATURE UNDER THE SOVIET

The fine arts during the revolution created nothing new or striking. Neither in painting nor in sculpture do we find any name to associate with important achievements; in architecture only there has been some tendency toward constructivism, while the theatre continues to maintain its art as one of the finest in Europe. Meyerhold, Tairov and Vakhtangov are the three directors who, each in his own way, have endeavored to overcome both realism and symbolism. The first place undoubtedly belongs to the late Vakhtangov, whose remarkable methods succeeded in producing a synthesis of the old theatrical traditions and the new tendencies introduced by the revolution.

The Bolsheviks, in their hopes of creating a distinctive proletarian art for a time encouraged the futurists and cubists as the representatives of revolutionary painting and sculpture. But the pictures and statues produced by the futurists were later brushed aside for those of representatives of other schools, mainly of the "expressionist" variety, and finally the Government ceased to support any of the artistic groups, though, needless to say, the State museums chiefly purchase works by proletarian painters and particularly pictures and statues with revolutionary subjects. Since 1922 all the art collections have again been open, and in the museums of Leningrad and Moscow much labor has been spent on systematizing and enlarging the collections, which are justly considered among the best in Europe. The special commission for the preservation of art monuments, created by the Government, was particularly important because of the frequent cases of vandalism during the revolution. All the museums belong to the State, with free admission, and the number of visitors has greatly increased within the last few years. Exhibitions of modern painters are fairly frequent in the capital, the most important being that of the Association of Revolutionary Artists.



ANATOLII VASILIEVICH LUNACHARSKY  
Soviet Commissar of Education, born in 1873;  
also well known as a writer of several notable  
Russian plays

On the other hand, there is a great need for periodicals devoted to art criticism.

Far more interesting than the state of the plastic arts since the revolution is the recent development of Russian literature, reflecting as it does the changing and changed outlook of the people. In the first years of the revolution the writers suffered even more than the scientists. Periodicals and publishing houses ceased to exist, and the whole press, except the Bolshevik newspapers, was destroyed. The Government was resolved to suppress all opposition by men of letters, and so dozens of writers, who for political reasons were prevented from getting their work printed, had to earn a livelihood in some other way. In 1918-20 literature almost ceased to exist, so that the censorship established by the Soviet Government no longer had much to do.

In the midst of this general silence, all the more resounding was the voice of one of the greatest Russian pre-revolutionary writers, Alexander Blok. He marked the

transition from the old to the new Russian literature. A leader of the new poetry movement, an incomparable lyricist, who had expressed in his poems the soul of a whole generation of the Russian intelligentsia, he had always felt the coming of the revolution, and in his poems, impregnated with national spirit, he sang of the great future which awaited Russia, miserable and yet full of strength. When the upheaval came Blok sincerely believed that the hour dreamt of for a hundred years by lovers of Russia had at last struck. Russia would give the world a new revelation and utter words of deliverance. However, not being a Bolshevik, Blok has expressed that Messianic tendency which was always strongly pronounced in both Russian thought and literature, even when there was no revolutionary motive. This Messianic idea, particularly influential in the first months of the revolution, when fiery speeches were made all over the country on Russia's world mission, found its magnificent artistic expression in Blok's poem, *The Twelve*. It is the story of twelve Red soldiers who wander in destroyed Petrograd in the first days of Bolshevik terror. In a snowstorm, through darkness and frost, plundering and slaughtering, they go, and the very same gun that was used to kill the sweetheart of one of them serves as a weapon to defend the revolution. They are bandits and thieves, those twelve soldiers of the Red army, and they sing, "keep a revolutionary step, the vigilant enemy is ever awake," and believe that "we will set forth a world fire," while the hound strolling behind them seems to them a living incarnation of the old régime they are called on to destroy. Yet, when in a snowstorm they leave the city of terror and ruin, holding the Red flag ahead of them, invisible to them advances Jesus Christ wearing his crown of thorns, and the twelve bandits change into twelve unconscious apostles. It is Christ, who indicates the way to the all-destroying and bloody revolution, and a secret religious meaning is contained in what to the superficial eye seems to be simply plain hooliganism. Whatever may be the impression regarding its idea, this poem must be recognized as one that will always be the most remarkable of the Russian revolution. A striking realism unites with that soft and somewhat vague mysticism, which is typical not only of Blok but of the Russian mind in general. *The Twelve* renders with striking clearness the whole atmosphere of the epoch, and is therefore also a document of historical value. It is the first work in



a new poetical manner, using a literary language of purely folk speech, making use of peasant and factory songs, and written in a vivid and concise form of verse, with varied meters for different moments in the poem, or, as it is termed now, the dramatizing of verse. Blok's conceptions are typical of the first period of the revolution. He expressed them even more rashly in his poem, *Scythians*—the Russian Scythians who love and understand Western Europe, and are called to bring all the virgin power of their brains and muscles to a decadent culture; and woe to Europe, if it does not obey the appeal of Russia—wild hordes of allied Russians and Asiatics will rush upon the European lands. Dozens of gifted and mediocre poets have followed Blok in both idea and form, and many imitations of *The Twelve* appeared even at the moment when Blok was dying, deceived by the revolution and the Bolsheviks, hostile to the Soviet régime, and no longer in agreement with the ideas expressed in his own poetry.

The Messianic mood corresponded to the first period of immense hopes and pathos. Then came the strenuous fighting to strengthen the Soviet power, and the Bolsheviks began to need poets and writers to praise their victories and chant the call to the battle, instead of seducing their readers with mystical reveries. It was at that time that the Communists carried out an attempt to create artificially a school of literature—so-called proletarian literature. Not only was the working class to bring forth new geniuses, but poetry was to work out a definite revolutionary tendency, cease to be individualistic, express the ideas of collectivism and communism, and become a powerful weapon in creating a new conscience and a new proletarian culture on the remains of the former bourgeois culture. For this purpose clubs, associations and studios sprang up all over Russia, with the financial and moral support of the Government; workmen's publishing houses were founded and the new periodicals published only "tendencious" works by proletarian writers and by those who were willing to sing the praises of Lenin and the new régime.

#### FUTURISM UNDER MAIAKOVSKY

A whole literary movement is connected with the name of Maiakovsky, and although his influence is not as great as Blok's, yet it has also left a deep impress on the new literature of Russia. Maiakovsky lacks profundity, but possesses great technical

ability. Allied to the Left Wing Communists, he demanded complete renunciation of the past of Russian literature. In a poem, proposing to throw Raphael out of the museums, he wrote: "Catch the white soldier. Why is not Pushkin shot?" He desired to throw all the nineteenth century writers off the "ship of modern times." His own poetical ship sails on the waves of political partiality. All his poems are written either on political topics or on the victories of proletarian literature all over the world, as, for example, his poem, *One Hundred and Fifty Millions*, which relates the campaign of 150,000,000 Russian peasants in the cities of capitalist Europe and America, and represents America as the symbol of capitalism with Wilson as legendary symbol, perched on a gigantic throne wearing a silk top-hat as high as the Eiffel Tower. Maiakovsky uses continuously in his works hyperbolic images and a coarse phantasy of numbers and weights. At the same time his powerful, harsh verse, which contains the commonest expressions, resembles the usual colloquial language and attains an extraordinary expressive power. Maiakovsky possesses a great sense of humor, particularly in his political satires



Wide World

MME. KRUPSKAYA

Widow of Lenin, who is active in the work of the schools of the Soviet Union

on prominent European statesmen such as Clémenceau, Coolidge, Pilsudski and Baldwin. It is poetry intended for the street and the mob, coarse, quite foreign to refinement and despising gracefulness, a loud and primitive drum. Although the content of Maiakovsky's work may amount to little more than a transcription of current politics in a more or less allegorical form, the quality of his verse is undeniable. He has enriched Russian poetry with that curious combination of political and colloquial discourse I have already mentioned. His influence on the younger generation is mainly due to the free and supple verse, which, though harsh, has its harmony.

Toward 1922 the complete failure of the attempt to create a proletarian literature became obvious, though a few gifted writers did come from the proletariat, but they were only second-rate or third-rate and their works did not result in the new literature expected by Bolsheviks. Pupils of official hot houses of poetry, they would rather imitate the Russian classics or the quite non-proletarian pre-war poets. From the standpoint of culture the proletarian literary studios were undoubtedly of value in having roused creative impulses among the working classes, but they also did harm by implanting conceit and self-importance in dull and giftless poets and diverting men from their real business in life. When it became evident that a proletarian literature had not arisen, Maiakovsky alone not sufficing; that the best representatives of literary youth had preferred to go their own way, and that the Bolsheviks were beginning to retreat in economic and social matters, a fierce discussion on literature broke out in the Communist Party. The extremists demanded the continuation of the dictatorship over literature, the suppression of bourgeois magazines and reviews and the prosecution of non-proletarian writers. The centre, headed by Trotsky and Lunacharsky, declared that all the old literature should not be despised; that, instead of denying "bourgeois literature" it should be worked over again, and that freedom to write and be published should be accorded to those who did not belong to the Communist Party or the working class, but who did not show any hostility to the Bolsheviks and followed them in cultural and educational activities. Such writers have been called the "traveling companions," and soon it became evident that, with a few exceptions, nearly the whole of Russian literature had passed into the hands of those "traveling companions." The policy

proposed by Trotsky and Lunacharsky having been accepted, it was decided to establish various periodicals of a literary and artistic character, set up publishing houses and permit non-proletarian writers greater freedom and not require tendentious or revolutionary literature from them. Both the young and old writers seemed to have awaited that moment to show their extraordinary energy and fertility, and so began a new period of modern literary development. During the past five years dozens of reviews and private publications have appeared; books are now sold by the thousand, and hundreds of libraries have been opened for the masses. As before, the publishing is mainly in the hands of the State company, and the censorship still endeavors to direct artistic creation. Yet, in spite of political obstacles, a new Russian literature has come into existence in no way influenced by or reflecting Communism and developing in spite of and sometimes even against the purposes of the governing power. This new literature, representing the third period of real construction which the revolution has entered, lives and grows, so that it would be difficult to define it in exact terms. Yet its tendencies may be pointed out.

#### THE NEW WRITERS

In poetry the first place no doubt belongs to the late Sergei Essenin, a peasant, who brought the aroma of the countryside into Russian poetry. His work expresses a profound feeling for nature and the quiet sadness of a man who cannot succeed in spite of all his efforts to place himself on a level with a wicked and bitter time. In the years of murder, merciless struggle and general ruin, Essenin was the representative of lyricism, refined spiritual sensations, individualism and originality in opposition to the leveling influence of collectivism. To these qualities and his profound love of his country and of nature Essenin owes his extraordinary success. His books are sold in thousands and have inspired hundreds of admirers and imitators, who have formed a real Essenin school. Essenin, like the other young poets, employed the new poetical forms which originated with Blok and Maiakovsky and which have resulted in a peculiar expressionism, full of movement, power and pathos. These forms are found in the work of the best contemporary poets—Tikhonov, Tzvetayaeva, Pasternak. These writers are also remarkable for the manner in which they introduce folk speech into literature.

The same tendency is found in the new

prose literature. Such prominent writers as Remyzov, one of the best Russian stylists, have worked in the same direction, bringing to life ancient Russian legends, while the symbolist, Andrei Bely, has written a whole epic about Moscow. It may be said that with the revolution the folk has entered literature, that a "crisis" in the language of literature has taken place, and that a new, more national style is being developed. As a whole the literature of the last few years has gone through many changes. A tendency toward neo-realism is to be noticed, while language and composition acquire a cheerful tone.

Most of the work by young authors deals with the civil war and the revolution; yet the best of it is not in the least Communist in tendency. The best rendering of the epoch has been achieved by Babel in his novels, which to a certain extent form a single organic work, the army of Budenny (his novel, *The Cavalry Army*), and by Pilniak, a somewhat self-conscious writer, who, however, in his novel, *The Naked Year*, has presented one of the most striking pictures of the famine of 1920. Babel as an artist is of the French type, reminding one of Maupassant by his laconic style and precision. Pilniak is somewhat mystical and stormy. His main theme is the struggle of the Russian peasant and anarchistic elements against Bolshevism, which, as he depicts it, is the herald of discipline, mechanism and urban culture. He generally describes the struggle between the village and the city, which found its expression in Esenin's poetry and is still one of the favorite subjects of contemporary Soviet writers. The civil war is described by other less prominent, though gifted, writers such as Vsevolod Ivanov, Nikitin, Yakovlev, Seifulina and Furmanov. It is peculiar that during the last few years the so-called literature of accusation has widely developed, full of a critical or even satirical tendency and describing the negative aspects of life. From Blok's messianism and Maiakovsky's triumphant odes, Russian literature has come to Esenin's lyricism and to the sane and realistic works of the younger generation. P. Romanov sets forth the Chekhov tradition in a series of novels and stories of Russian domestic life. M. Zochenko has written a few volumes of humorous stories. Yet it is E. Zamiatin who should be considered as the leading writer of that kind; he is one of the most prominent contemporary writers, gifted with a peculiar and typical Russian humanism united to a profound sense of irony.

In his novels he describes the sorrows of a Russian intellectual in the first years of the revolution, and in his play, *The Fires of St. Dominique*, he laughs at the system of Communist persecution. His novel, *We*, which has been published in English after being forbidden in Russia, is a satirical picture of Communist society in which every expression of individualism is completely destroyed.

A young writer of whom the critics have high hopes is L. Leonov, whose stories, and especially whose novel, *The Badgers*, have placed him in the front rank. It is of a peasant revolt against the Bolsheviks. The hero, fleeing into the forests, says: "There are millions of us; we give blood, steel, bread. We are everything. Do not forget it." Leonov, a brilliant artist and profound psychologist, has succeeded in grasping and expressing the awakening of the peasant consciousness of a country that has 100,000,000 peasants. The cheerful and assured tone of his novel conveys the mood of that great multitude of peasants who believe in their strength and in their future. It is not surprising that Leonov is popular in Russia and abroad; his work reflects the fundamental tendencies of Russian contemporary literature and of a whole legion of young writers. In spite of all the pictures of horror and blood which fill the pages of *The Badgers*, it maintains throughout a strong and cheerful tone, the tone of all literary production in recent years. It would now be futile to look for the messianism or mysticism of the first period of the revolution or for the dreaminess of pre-war Russian prose, for what we find is virility, a tendency to look at actual life earnestly and frankly, a renunciation of illusions and a striving to create which is felt by the whole of young Russia. In this respect Russian literature, as it has often done before, may now be forecasting the freedom which does not exist under present political conditions. At the same time the sanity and strength in the new literature are not only a guarantee of the future cultural development but of Russia itself. The progress of Russian art and science in the terrible years of revolution indicates the enormous vitality of the Russian nation and gives rise to hope for a happy solution of the present crisis, justifying at the same time the words which fifty years ago were uttered by Turgenev, with regard to the progress of Russian literature: "It cannot be that such a language was not given to a great people."

PARIS, September, 1927.



# The Russian Revolution as Reflected in the Theatre

By ALEXANDER BAKSHY

FORMER CORRESPONDING ART CRITIC IN LONDON FOR RUSSIAN ART PERIODICALS; AUTHOR OF *The Path of the Modern Russian Stage*, AND *The Theatre Unbound*

REVOLUTIONARY upheavals are seldom productive of great art. Taken in its general sense, this rule holds for the Russian Revolution. The past ten years may have sown the seed of many great works, yet to flower in Russian literature, painting or music, but in none of these fields has the revolutionary period been marked by a national achievement comparable in quality or bulk with the achievement of the era immediately preceding. The paradoxical exception in this respect has been the most amazing growth of the post-revolutionary Russian theatre.

Numerous reasons might be quoted to explain this singular fact. One of the first is that the theatre, thanks to its directness and vividness, requires considerably less concentration than that demanded by most other arts. For this reason people who lack the power to fix their minds on poetry, novels, paintings, or even music, are only too happy to give themselves up passively to the absorption of the images and emotions depicted on the stage.

Life in Russia during the revolution, and particularly during its first years, required too great an effort to leave any surplus energy for appreciation of art. On the other hand, the hardships and turmoil of every-day existence demanded an emotional relief, and nothing could satisfy this need better than the theatre. Accordingly, the demand for theatrical entertainment during the first "heroic" years of the revolution reached the proportions of a "craze." The Soviet Government, moreover, regarded the theatre as a powerful means of propaganda and, to the utmost of its power, lent it its financial and political support. Thus the drama, in the good graces both of the public and the Government, flourished at a time when other arts were barely able to maintain their existence.

Thus far two main achievements may be noted: First, the revolution has greatly widened the interest in the theatre by bringing the latter nearer to the masses of the people; and, second, by undermining the reverential attitude toward tradition,

the revolution has unleashed the theatre's creative forces. The result is a dramatic art work more varied and startling in its originality than has ever before been known in the history of the stage.

As regards popularizing the theatre, the principal impulse toward this was provided by the nationalization of the theatres, carried out by the Government at the beginning of the revolution. All theatres were proclaimed the property of the nation, their control and administration were placed in the hands of the Government, and a policy was inaugurated which made the theatres practically free to the masses of the people and particularly to those organized in trade unions and similar bodies. On these lines the theatres could be run, of course, only at a loss, which had to be made up by the Government. The Government endeavored to do this, as far as its resources allowed it, during the first five years following 1917. With the launching, however, of the New Economic Policy in 1922 all the theatres, while remaining under the Government control, were placed on a commercial basis, with the State subsidy either completely withdrawn or reduced to very small proportions. At the present time the State theatres are still largely patronized by working-class audiences, who obtain seats at reduced rates through their unions, but complaints are often heard that the reduced prices are still too high for genuine workmen, and that as a consequence most of the cheaper seats fall into the hands of various officials and their families.

Next, one must note a widespread network of workmen's and peasants' clubs, covering practically the whole country, in which dramatic entertainment is one of the principal attractions. The innumerable groups of amateur actors who, sometimes under professional leadership, engage in these theatricals are the subject of very keen attention on the part of various political organizations. Great efforts are being made to develop this movement as a means of political propaganda, on the one hand, and as a step toward a new (i. e., purely

proletarian) form of theatre art, on the other. It must be admitted that in neither direction have these efforts thus far been particularly successful. The political play, or so-called *agitka*, with its obvious political moral and its machine-made formulas, has now almost completely lost the popularity it enjoyed among the masses during the first years of the revolution. Instead of attracting people to the clubs, the *agitka* seems actually to be driving them away, which is, of course, only the natural reaction—now that the period of stress and storm is over—against a constant diet of dramatized political sermons, parables and allegories. To counteract this tendency, the leaders of these organizations have been compelled to allow greater scope for pure dramatic entertainment at the same time trying to raise the technical standards of staging and acting and to improve the quality of plays produced.

The attempts to develop, with the assistance of these workers' clubs, a new and non-professional form of proletarian theatre may be classed under the name of the "creative theatre" movement. This is based on the belief that genuine art occurs only when the actor and the spectator are one and the same person, and that the modern "bourgeois" art in which the professional actor is always opposed to the non-professional spectator is essentially false and corrupt. The "creative theatre" thus aims at educating the masses of the people to a natural practice of dramatic art that will gradually shape itself in independent and characteristically proletarian forms.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the purely educational objects of this movement. In Russian country life, with its prevailing illiteracy and social backwardness, dramatic art, in however humble a form it may make its appearance, can hardly fail to act as a powerful means of awakening artistic intelligence and culture. Its aim, however, the blending of the spectator and actor and the abolition of the professional theatre, if ever realized, can mean only one thing—the suppression of the genuine art of the theatre in Russia. There is no such thing as "art" without the "spectator," or craftsmanship without professionalism. The whole idea is a survival of the sentimental conception of art, popular in the Victorian era. Therefore it may be considered fortunate that useful as the creative theatre movement has proved itself to be it has failed utterly to provide a substitute for the professional theatre. Nor has it given any

indication of the new forms, which "the proletarian theatre" was expected to develop, either in the methods of play construction, of acting or of staging, since "pageants," of which there have been a few rather elaborate examples in Russia, can hardly be claimed as such a new form.

Irrespective of this or that particular method for bringing the masses nearer to the theatre, there is no denying the fact that the post-revolutionary audience in the professional theatres represents a different social class and a different artistic consciousness, when compared with the typical audience of the pre-revolutionary era. Largely, if not completely, proletarian, this new audience brings to the theatre its own demands—particularly its dissatisfaction with the old theatre, and its vague longing for something that was not yet there. How is the theatre to satisfy these demands?

#### THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE

The Russian theatre, as the Bolshevik Revolution found it, was essentially a plaything of the well-to-do classes. At the extreme end of the social ladder stood the Imperial ballet, with its two magnificent companies in Petrograd and Moscow, a toy of exquisite beauty, favored and fostered by the court and almost the exclusive preserve of "society." The Imperial opera, slightly more democratic in its artistic manners and its patrons, represented the festive and ceremonial aspect of social life. The Imperial theatre and numerous private theatres, both in the capital and Moscow, and in the provinces, served the variegated sections of the Russian middle classes with a fare that reflected their life, interests and artistic tastes without putting too great a strain on their enthusiasm for art or their concern in problems of conscience. Those enthusiastically minded in either of these directions—and they usually belonged to the so-called intelligentsia—had a few special theatres administering to their respective needs. The famous Moscow Art Theatre, for nearly twenty years before the revolution, had satisfied the intellectual and moral interest of the intelligentsia by supplying a meticulously truthful, yet fine and extraordinarily spiritual, representation of the life of people whose characters and fate appealed to the inquiring and active mind of this particular audience. On the other hand, directors like Meyerhold, Tairov and others found it more interesting and more important to stress the purely formal aspects of dramatic art, connecting their experiments

with an esthetic super-refinement of the senses and a mystic symbolism of perception. This "aesthetic" school of the Russian theatre had a great vogue before the war and was actually challenging the leadership of the "intellectual" school headed by the Moscow Art Theatre.

It will be seen from this description of the pre-revolutionary Russian theatre, with its essentially middle-class atmosphere and "ideology," that the new class who came to rule over Russia in November, 1917, was hardly likely to find much in this theatre to echo its own interests and aspirations and to reflect its attitude toward life and toward art. Nor did it find it. The super-refinements of the aesthetes were beyond the grasp of people to whom the actual burden of existence was too painful an experience to leave any desire for the shadowy thrills of pure art. On the other hand, the plays picturing life and its problems as experienced or seen by the middle classes were even more alien to the interests and mentality of the new audience. Moreover, the majority of those who formed this audience were grimly determined on winning the revolution and defeating its enemies. The Old World, they were convinced, was crumbling to pieces under the thrust of the revolutionary forces. Not only the economic and political dominance of the propertied classes but all the moral, intellectual and esthetic standards used to prop up and adorn that dominance were now summarily rejected on the popular theory that "the bourgeoisie's meat was inevitably the proletariat's poison." Thus revolutionary sentiment, in all the various implications of this term, was the first thing that the new audience was best able to appreciate, and that the theatre was most expected to supply.

#### EFFECTS OF REVOLUTION

The old Imperial theatres with their long established traditions of repertory and acting were clearly the least capable of answering such a demand. The utmost they could do, in the absence of suitable modern plays, was to include in their repertory such old plays as were more or less in harmony with the revolutionary spirit of the day and this they proceeded to do by playing Byron, Schiller and other authors of revolutionary sentiment. Then, as time went on, they began to stage plays of modern Russia—plays imbued with the spirit of revolution. Though these fine theatres and their fine actors added nothing new to the post-revolutionary theatre,

they performed a great service to Russia by preserving, under the enlightened patronage of the Soviet Government, the wonderful treasures of artistic culture which they had gathered in the past.

Almost the same must be said of the famous Moscow Art Theatre. Great as the achievements of this remarkable theatre are, they date back mostly to its pre-revolutionary days. The few new plays produced break no new ground and merely repeat the old methods. But, paradoxical as it may appear, it is the consummate perfection of the Moscow Art Theatre as the very prototype and embodiment of the pre-revolutionary theatre art that has contributed largely to the growth of its bitterest enemy—the many-headed revolutionary theatre.

On looking back at the frenzied theatrical activity of the past ten years in Russia, and particularly in Moscow, one is surprised to find that most of that activity has left very little visible trace and that the whole movement, widespread as it has always been, appears to have received its impetus mostly from two or three outstanding personalities.

#### VSEVOLOD MEYERHOLD'S INFLUENCE

The foremost place among these moulding forces has belonged during the past ten years to the theatre director, Vsevolod Meyerhold. Meyerhold is no newcomer to the Russian stage. A leading member of the Moscow Art Theatre company from its inception and later the most prominent figure in the insurgent anti-realist theatre, Meyerhold before the revolution became particularly associated with the idea of so-called "theatricality" or "the theatre theatrical" theory demonstrated in a number of productions in which Meyerhold's incomparable inventiveness, wealth of imagination and subtlety of treatment were a revelation of his genius as well as an indication of the wonderful resources of the drama which yet remained unexplored.

Then, unexpectedly, there came a blow. The art which Meyerhold, with many others of his way of thinking, had worshipped as absolute and unquestionable, was suddenly dismissed by the triumphant revolution as a plaything of the parasitic rich. Meyerhold accepted the revolution, he absorbed its wrath against the old ruling classes and the old world they helped to run according to their own ideas. Consequently he had no choice but to reject his old art—the art which, as he had found, was particularly to the taste of the peo-



ple's oppressors and exploiters. But what were the immediate demands of the people's art and the people's theatre? The first and principal demand was that all art should be directed toward the defense and service of the revolution. This meant politics, propaganda, subordination of all literary and artistic considerations to one supreme aim—the success of revolution and, finally, the success of Communism.

Opposed as all this was to his old conceptions, Meyerhold did not shrink from embracing it with all the enthusiasm of a convert. He it was who was the loudest in the demand that, in the absence of good Communist plays, old plays, even by classical authors, should be rewritten to meet the needs of the revolutionary audience. He it was who interpolated military reports from the fighting fronts into the action of the play. He it was, too, who swayed the audience into joining the actors when the play reached its greatest emotional fervor. True, his theatre was still a theatre and his actors but actors. The function of the theatre became changed. It was no longer an obvious "make-believe" as was his "theatre theatrical"; nor a copy of life, as in the realist theatre; but it was now part of the life itself—a national revolutionary workshop for shaping, building and manufacturing sentiments and ideas as required by the needs of the whole revolutionary body-politic.

The importance of Meyerhold in this stage of his work lay not only in what he did himself, and did sometimes supremely well, but in what dozens, if not hundreds of other directors did, following his trail, though frequently not doing it nearly as well as he did.

#### THE THEORY OF "CONSTRUCTIVISM"

When the agitation and frenzy of the first few years of the revolutionary struggle somewhat subsided and the attention of the people turned from the military to the so-called economic front, the theatre also had to find its new place in the constructive activity of the nation. It was just then that a new theory was formulated by a group of artists and writers under the name of "constructivism." This theory proclaimed that art as a form of contemplative experience could have no place in a society organized on Communist or labor principles. Communist art could be only a form of active life, but of life organized in every possible way to a pitch of perfection that would make its functioning absolutely smooth and effortless. Thus, sculpture and painting

were merely a science of form and color in their every day application in engineering and building. The theatre, too, was merely the art of organizing men's actions either in work or play, and accordingly no special edifice or scenery and no professional performers were necessary to give expression to this art.

It will be noticed that Meyerhold's own conversion of theatre art to the practical uses of the revolution brought him to the very threshold of the constructivist theory. Somewhat hesitatingly, he embraced the theory. But a concession on one point was essential: the performance had to take place in the theatre building and had to be given by actors. Thus, in justification, the theatre was declared to be a dramatic workshop and the performance of a play by actors a labor process having for its object the manufacturing of emotional effects, ideas, images, and so forth. With laudable consistency Meyerhold and his constructivist allies proceeded to convert the stage into a workshop, and actors into workmen, by removing the curtain and all scenery, setting up scaffoldings and mechanical devices, dressing all the actors in uniform costumes and performing the play by a "bio-mechanical" process which reduced human action to a machine-like formality and precision. *The Magnanimous Cuckold*, a play by Cromelinc, staged in 1922, was the first of Meyerhold's productions in the constructivist manner. A number of others followed in the subsequent years, and such was their influence on all the other more venturesome directors who were faced with the same problem of reconciling art and Communist activity, that for a time most of the Russian theatres succumbed completely to the constructivist formula.

At the same time actual experience soon began to open Meyerhold's eyes to the essential fallacy of his new faith. Much as he tried to treat the stage as if it were a workshop, the element of show or spectacle, which is the natural way in which theatrical art expresses itself, kept breaking through his elaborate system of mechanized action. Thus, first, human character reappeared, and the actor was allowed to don the costume appropriate to his part. Then, the mechanical devices gradually disappeared, leaving in their place a number of devices, such as moving screens, revolving floors, and so forth, which have no justification from the constructivist point of view.

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having shed such methods as the use of cars and motorcycles dashing through the theatre hall, and of other equally forced means of trying to induce the sense of actuality.

In his latest productions such as Ostrovsky's *Forest*, Erdman's *Mandate* and Gogol's *Inspector General*, Meyerhold has completely freed himself of the last trappings of the constructivist theory. He has returned to his original conception of the "theatre theatrical" in the form in which it flourished in the *Commedia dell'Arte* of Renaissance Italy and in similar folk theatres in other countries; and he has enriched this conception and harmonized it with the revolutionary sentiment of the modern Russian audience by his disregard of conventional ideas, his extreme vigor and poignancy of treatment, and his amazing command of the stage and the extraordinary effects which only he knows how to produce.

#### OTHER MODERN PRODUCERS

The place of Meyerhold in the post-revolutionary Russian theatre is so prominent that one is apt to overlook a number of other very gifted actors, directors and companies who have contributed to the progress of the Soviet theatre. One must note, however, the work of Alexander Tairov, in his Kamerny Theatre in Moscow, who continued for several years after the revolution the ideas of theatricality proclaimed by Meyerhold in his non-political period. Tairov elaborated these ideas by introducing various refinements in the manner of the actors' diction, gesture and movement. He also developed a form of setting which in combining Futurist design with a vertical distribution of stage levels, as in his production of Chesterton's *The Man Who Was Thursday*, provided in its own way a rather close approach to Meyerhold's constructivist scaffoldings. Tairov's latest productions, particularly O'Neill's *Hairy Ape* and *Desire Under the Elms*, reveal a more vigorous treatment of the stage and a choice of plays more in harmony with the interest of the post-revolutionary audience than could

rightly be claimed for his earlier productions.

The late Eugene Vakhtangov (who died in 1922) represented another approach to Meyerhold's theories, only attempted from the realistic viewpoint of Stanislavsky and his Art Theatre. The bridge between the psychological and the theatrical truth of acting which he effected in his production of *Princess Turandot* (in the Third, Vakhtangov's, Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre) and of *The Dybbuk* (in the Hebrew Habima Theatre) was a startling revelation of theatrical genius which has made the name of Vakhtangov, though he died a young man, one of the most esteemed in the annals of the Russian stage.

It would be impossible to note other theatrical personalities in Russia without greatly exceeding the scope of the present article. More urgent, however, appears the necessity of saying a few words about the Soviet dramatists. Has there been any revolutionary drama comparable to the masterpieces of Chëkhov, Ostrovsky or Gogol? Without reservation one must answer: No—nothing even approaching those masterpieces. Yet, during the last three years a number of plays have appeared which are sufficiently original and sufficiently characteristic of Soviet Russia to constitute the beginnings of the post-revolutionary drama. Among these plays mention should be made of Romashov's *Meringue* and *The Town of Krivoritsk*; Erdman's *Mandate*; Faiko's *Mr. Boubous, the Teacher*; Bill-Tserkovsky's *A Storm and A Dead Calm*; Bulgakov's *The Turbins* and *Zoikin's Lodgings*; Shkvarkin's *The Pernicious Element*. Some of these plays are satirical, others revolutionarily romantic, and others still pre-revolutionarily romantic (with due apologies to the powers that be).

The slow but steady growth indicated in this literature holds the promise that the Russian Soviet theatre will conquer yet higher peaks in that mighty advance toward a free and more significant drama which has marked its progress during the years of the revolution.



# Passing of the Old Russia

By STEPHEN GRAHAM

WRITER AND TRAVELER, ESPECIALLY IN RUSSIA; AUTHOR OF *A Vagabond in the Caucasus*, *Changing Russia*, *Through Russian Central Asia*, *Russia in Division*, AND OTHER WORKS

IN the old Russia religion was in fashion. Court ladies discussed their prayers, charities, services, confessors. The Empress, that she might give birth to a male heir, sought the intercession of a holy man long dead, old Father Seraphin of Optin. Her sister, Elizabeth, started a convent at Moscow. Holy men such as Father John of Cronstadt were in more repute than scholars. In literature the religious aspect was preferred to any other, and this caused Dostoevsky and Tolstoy to be ranked higher than Turgenev, who was a greater artist. This had considerable advantage to the Russian nation, for although the sincerity of the religious expression of the upper classes might be questioned, the masses were by tradition and instinct extremely religious. From top to bottom, as far as religion was concerned, the old Russia was one piece.

As the Russian people have a great love of ritual and symbol, religion expressed itself in much parade and outward show; sacred pictures and lamps in the homes, large ikons in shops, railway stations, theatres; street shrines, processions. The ornate churches dominated the architecture of the cities. Pilgrims, solitary or in great crowds, making their way to famous monasteries, were abiding features of the daily life of the country. Some ten thousand peasants found their way to Jerusalem every year. Throngs visited Solovetsky in the White Sea and New Athos on the Black Sea, Kiev, Troitsky, New Jerusalem, Mount Athos and many another great seat of monasticism. It was commonly deplored by Westerners that religious exercise caused such a diversion of labor from the factories and the fields, and that the religious holidays of the people were so frequent.

The extraordinary religious fervor had no counterpart in morality and industry, such as Protestantism expects as the chief fruit of religion. Morality was, of course, enjoined by the Church, but religious aspiration was toward holiness rather than righteousness. Pity and Praise were the chief functions of the ritual. The religion of suffering and of acclamation of the will of God held the place which in Western countries is held by the consecration of

manhood and the struggles of conscience against sin.

The morals of the village, of the working class, of the middle class and of the aristocracy were on a low level. The extraordinary fecundity of the race resulted in great sexual excess. In the village neither birth control nor natural restraint was practiced. Women suffering from excessive child-bearing were common. Children born into dirt and poverty swarmed and perished. Nature sought a balance in asceticism. Hence the rise of the remarkable sect of self-mutilators, or *Skoptsy*, and the extensive self-consecration of the peasantry in convent and monastery.

In mining settlements and factory towns the moral conditions were worse than in the villages, and the drab life of these places was marked by very public and brutal prostitution. The working class and the bourgeoisie were badly stricken by venereal disease and its attendant maladies of cancer and tuberculosis.

Drunkenness fanned immorality, and until the ukase of Czar Nicholas II, limiting the sale of liquor, vodka was considered a national drink, much as beer is in Britain. Excessive drinking characterized both the aristocracy and the peasantry, though not the new growing middle class which was markedly more abstemious and devoted to tea and coffee. Heavy drinking was a feature of the officer class both in the army and the police, and greatly affected the efficiency of the services. Factory owners complained bitterly of the condition of the workers on the day following any of the many public holidays. The chief workers in the reform movement for temperance proved to be the peasant women and working men's wives, who in many districts just before the war were taking the law into their own hands and taking advantage of the Imperial edict to close the vodka shops themselves.

Another unfortunate feature of the national life was thieving, which in the working classes was just theft and in the upper classes was graft. Peasants were forced to keep pigs rather than market gardens because it was more difficult to steal a pig than a cabbage. Owners of orchards sold

their fruit harvest in the blossom to Armenians and Greeks, who themselves had to put in a guard to watch their property day and night. On railways and in public offices portable articles had to be chained. The trains swarmed with "hares," ticketless people who traveled under the seats. Conductors stole the candles with which the compartments should have been illuminated. Baggage left in cloak rooms or sent in luggage vans was more frequently tampered with than in other countries. And higher in the social life of Russia there was much corruption. Graft impeded the progress in building and engineering, and bribery was constantly imported in the courts.

#### AN EMERGING PEOPLE

It should, however, be borne in mind that the Russians were an emerging people. In 1861 Alexander II liberated the serfs from the estates, and the landowners from serfowning. The social revolution which this implied is too little considered by impatient progressives. Russia had issued belatedly from feudalism, but the new Russia had not, by 1914, achieved self-definition. A democracy was inevitable, but democratic control had not been established. The fact that in previous times the peasants had been sold with the land had an unlooked-for sequence in the attachment of the peasants to the land as something inalienable—"God made the land for the peasants." The ineradicable desire of the peasant for property rights in the land he cultivated had been only partially met by Stolypin's provision for small peasant holdings, and the never-quelled agrarian movement indicated a very serious problem for the Administration.

In the political field representative institutions began to be tried only after the Russo-Japanese War and its subsequent popular upheaval. The Duma, established forty-one years after the emancipation of the serfs, became at once the national arena of the struggle between the old and the new, between the patronal and the democratic ideas. The extreme spirits in politics were mostly sent to Siberia, but that did not prevent the growth of the Duma as a national organ of political consciousness. The old-fashioned control of Russia visibly weakened from year to year.

The last fifty years before 1914 witnessed an extraordinary growth in the power of the press. The weapon of censorship could do little to stem this growth. By means of the press the new but singularly detached middle class was beginning

to obtain a position of power in the nation. Its devotion to Russia was demonstrated in the time of famine relief, and its will, if not its effort, to curb drunkenness in its approval of the national struggle for sobriety. It provided the teachers, the nurses and the doctors and had an important function in raising the standards of life generally. It had lost something of the national religious inheritance, but through the reading of Western literature it was becoming possessed of higher ethical standards, and it was undoubtedly eager to cultivate these standards in the schools.

A devotion to Russia, to its language, its songs and folklore, its customs, its soul, its future, marked all classes in Russian society. A fervent belief in Russia as she was in life and in tradition was linked to a universal belief in her future. Russia was the great coming nation of the world. She was to lead the world in material productivity, in religion, in art and in science. Not that this was expressed in great concerted activity. The type of man who sat in his chair dreaming of the future of Russia, never doing a thing to bring that future nearer, was common enough. Not that there were not many pessimists who despaired of Russia; these existed naturally in an emotional people, and were merely negative expressions of a rapturous belief in the country. And there were those who were neither believers nor disbelievers in Russia, but who wished for the end of Russia and the destruction of its national character. These were mainly those who had suffered in their own persons, or in the persons of their relatives, some barbarity of political repression. The haters of Russia found enough allies among the persecuted or thwarted minority races, such as the Jews, the Poles, the Letts and the Finns, to combine in a very dangerous revolutionary movement.

#### CULTURED MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS

In the Utopian dreams of the Russians education nearly always took an important place. The need for more and better education among the masses was felt. The cultural standard, both in the middle and upper classes, was unusually high.

Russians, being contemplative rather than active, make good scholars. But any education worth the name was the exclusive privilege of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. The working class needed better schools; the leisured needed fewer books and more physical activity. The ladder of education as it is understood in the West, taking



the promising peasant lad all the way from the village school to the university, barely existed. The avenue of education for the peasant was via the Church, which in certain directions was more than adequate. The extraordinary complexity of orthodoxy, its rituals, its traditional music and its mysticism, provided something which made true Russians, and raised its disciples to a certain spiritual stature not easily achieved by the artisans with their smattering of teaching in public schools. But the peasant, aspiring to be a proprietor, did need agricultural education, knowledge of hygiene and a little more arithmetic.

The educated were phenomenal in their education and culture. This class was, I suppose, the most cosmopolitan in the world, and started their children with three languages at the age of 7. The intelligentsia did not have what the peasant had, but it seemed to have all the rest. It kept its back to its origins and faced steadily westward. Its intellectual acumen brought backward Russia into the forefront of civilization in both literature and science. But Russian culture brought in its train a desire for luxury which was contrary to the rude and primitive ideas of the masses. In the true Russian home there was a simplicity which amounted to bareness.

But for the desire for foreign luxuries Russia was almost a self-supporting economic unit. Her most important import was cotton, and with the development of the cotton fields in Turkestan and of the Moscow and Lodz mills, it was hoped to limit this import very considerably. Her food supply, even in famine years, if properly distributed, sufficed amply for her needs. She had abundance of coal, iron, oil, copper and other minerals. Her export of wheat, dairy products and raw materials was very great and promised to grow to the point where Russia would be economically the greatest factor in the Old World.

From the proletarian and peasant point of view this development of business was superfluous. Peasant Russia would have been quite content to carry on its old economic life of fairs, wooden plows, sickles, wood fuel, horse-drawn vehicles, post-horse transit and communal distribution of harvests. The wealth extracted from the country did not obviously flow back on the laboring population. The creation of a class of "new rich," less pious, less national, than their old masters, was not of any obvious value to them even if they professed to be liberal and to desire better social conditions.

If the peasants were attracted to any definite form of society it was to a primitive patriarchal one, an unprogressive communism under the direct personal rule of a Czar. One of the most widespread sects of the Orthodox Church, the Old Believers, was becoming possessed of considerable influence in the peasant mind. Ultra-Conservative, they condemned nearly every national innovation which had come to Russia since the accession of Peter the Great. And although the desire for personal property in land was deep-rooted, the traditions of the *Mir* governed the minds of masses of the peasantry, who readily agreed to communal experiments in labor, pay, distribution of goods, in pasturage and in field work.

#### UNMILITARY SPIRIT

With the passing of the sense of serfdom obligatory military service was growing to be more and more distasteful. For conditions in the army resembled that of serfdom and were an instinctive reminder of what the peasant had escaped from a few decades before. The returning demobilized conscripts were often a disturbing factor in village life, bringing back vices learned in camp and a certain restlessness which had no value in the routine of country life. On the other hand, the peasant youth received certain rudiments of education in the army which must have been of service upon occasion. Numbers came back able to read and write, though it is said they commonly forgot these faculties in the village, having no use for them. In 1914, however, a workingmen's daily paper, priced at 1 copek (half a cent), was beginning to have a wide circulation even in the agricultural communities.

War was not popular except among the Cossacks and the mountain tribes. Cossacks were, of course, born into soldiery, and even small boys wore uniforms upon occasion. But the Tartar blood in this race was responsible for the fighting spirit. The true Slav is a peace-loving person, of an almost feminine type, turning much more readily to poetry, religion and dance than to arms. The doctrine of non-resistance preached by Tolstoy found a very fruitful soil. When they fought it was because they had to rather than because they wanted to. A call for volunteers, unless for some religious object such as the capture of Constantinople with its cathedral of St. Sophia, would have brought a very poor muster of recruits.

On the other hand, sport, such as bear-

hunting, shooting and trapping, was not unattractive to them. The gentry and the peasantry met upon an agreeable footing in hunting. Both agreed to despise the middle class because it did not hunt. Games such as football became the substitute of the middle class, and football did not appeal to the peasantry. The vast forests of Russia and the innumerable wildernesses were the natural field for hunting. The Russians enjoyed it. But it may be added in qualification that Germans or Anglo-Saxons in the same country would have pursued wild game in greater numbers and more relentlessly.

Hunting and fishing, however, raised the standard of eating. Russia was a country of feasting. The greatest self-indulgence which Russians allowed themselves was in food. When food was available it was eaten in great quantities. Visiting foreigners sometimes mistook the *hors-d'oeuvres* for the dinner itself. The Frenchman will desert any table for his mistress. No woman could cause the characteristic Russian male to stir from the festal board. Americans and English may eat absent-mindedly, thinking of their business. Not so the Russian. On the other hand, many of these same trenchermen fasted very rigorously in Lent, a practice which other races would find irksome. Then the festivals of Christmas, Carnival and Easter, were occasions of national orgies of eating. The large fish in which the rivers abound figured on the Russian tables, and also the spoils of the forests and the moors, wild duck, woodcock, wild turkey, hares, bears' feet and what not. In the South these were washed down with plentiful supplies of the wines produced there.

It may be thought that such a primitive community as the Russian nation was very stay-at-home, but the contrary is the case. The whole nation was possessed of *wanderlust*. The nomadic inheritance from the distant past was very strong. The trains, and especially the third class, swarmed with

people who did not need to be moving, and on the roads there were many tramps. The innumerable pilgrims on the way to distant shrines were moved only in part by piety. The desire to move for the sake of moving was the prime motive force. This nomadic instinct expressed itself in the upper classes in an unusual amount of European travel. Imperially and politically, it expressed itself in the ever-expanding circumference of colonization and empire. Even in the depths of Central Asia one came upon pioneers seeking new lands for settlement, and upon whole villages on the road trekking from Central Russia toward the Hindu-Koosh. These movements within the Russian empire at least served the useful purpose of giving the whole population of a very vast territory a sense of ethnic unity. Separatist movements were never a feature of the life of forlorn Russian communities, but of alien races whose destinies had somehow or other been swallowed up by those of the Russian Bear.

The old Russia, bewildering in its actual color, picturesqueness and variety, and charming in its natural expression, appeared to be the greatest racial potentiality in the Old World. The people had great reserves of health and vitality, a remarkably inclusive language, invaluable traditions, folk-lore and music, unusual religious and philosophic instincts, great intellectual capacity, an incomparable territorial inheritance and economic potentialities entirely proportionate to other aspects of potential greatness. Russia was a young giant nation with all the problems of adolescence in morals, in application, in industry and in the laws of changing life. But there was adequate reason to believe that the nation had no problems which in time it would not be able to solve. It was a nation in growth, a polity in course of change. It promised to provide in a new type of culture and civilization the long-awaited synthesis of the ideals of Europe and of Asia.

LONDON, ENGLAND, September, 1927.



# Russo-American Relations, 1917-1927

By BRYNJOLF J. HOVDE

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IT was with undisguised enthusiasm that the United States hailed the revolution of March, 1917, which overthrew the autocratic Russian Czar and gave promise of a liberal régime based on universal suffrage. Thereby the war which the United States was about to enter assumed the character of a struggle for democracy. President Wilson immediately recognized the Provisional Government, sent Mr. Elihu Root to Petrograd to strengthen Russian sympathy with the Allies, lent the new Government about \$190,000,000, and proceeded toward the establishment of the whole intricate system of war liaison between the two countries. But the Russian peasant in 1917 cared for only two things—peace and his rightful share of the land; therefore, when the Kerensky Government failed to satisfy him in these respects, he turned to the Communistic majority, or Bolshevik Socialists, who promised vehemently to fulfill his desires, with the result that in November, 1917, a second revolution placed in power a Government the like of which the world has never seen, a professedly Communistic Government.

Would the Soviet Government keep Russia in the war? That was the burning question to all of the Allies at the turning of the year. The circumstances under which it had attained power predicated a negative answer; therefore President Wilson extended it only a "friendly greeting," not full recognition. Nevertheless, no stone was left unturned by the American Government, at least, which might induce the Soviet Government to remain in the war. The conclusion of the armistice with the Germans caused the stoppage only of the export of war materials from America to Russia, so anxious were the President and the Secretary of State to avoid the appearance of deserting Russia. (Sen. Doc., 67 Congr., 2 sess., 1921-22, Vol. I, No. 86, pp. 103 and 108.) While the negotiations of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk were under way President Wilson made a heroic effort to satisfy the Soviet demand for a frank statement of Allied war aims in his famous Fourteen Points speech, which contained in Point 6 an assurance to Russia of a "sincere welcome into the

society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing."

Not even the acceptance by the Soviet Government of the Brest-Litovsk humiliation caused an immediate rupture, for although Ambassador Francis retired with the Allied diplomatic corps to Vologda, he left Colonel Raymond Robbins, American Red Cross leader, in Moscow as his agent of semi-official intercourse, an arrangement which continued for several months. When Japan landed an armed force in Siberia, it was largely due to the representations of the United States that serious consequences did not immediately follow. The American Government finally proceeded so far in its desire to placate the Soviets as to permit the railroad mission, which had stopped at the Russian border when the November revolution occurred, to proceed and cooperate with the Soviet authorities. Messages were exchanged by Mr. Francis and Mr. Robbins almost daily, and while the latter's communications show him to have been convinced by his observations in Moscow and by his interviews with the highest Soviet officials of the desirability and possibility of closer relations, Ambassador Francis's letters and telegrams faithfully mirrored the growing impatience of the American State Department with the Soviet Government. (See the documents edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, *Russo-American Relations, March, 1917, to March, 1920—Documents and Papers*. New York, 1920.)

In American official circles the suspicion ripened into conviction that the Bolsheviks were but the secret agents of the German Government. Both the suggestions of Lenin and those of Colonel Robbins for a trade agreement with Soviet Russia came to naught. Robbins was finally recalled by Secretary Lansing in May, 1918, and thereafter relations rapidly grew worse, until, in July, the mutual recriminations of which the Anglo-American Murmansk expedition was the occasion, and the withdrawal of the Allied diplomatic corps, of which Ambassador Francis was the dean, to Archangel instead of to Moscow, as M. Chicherin requested, brought about the final breach. (Cumming and Pettit, pp. 221-228; "Ambas-



sador Francis and Commissar Chicherin," in the *Nation*, Vol. CX, June 5, 1920, pp. 776-781).

Although the State Department wished no relations with the Soviet Government, it earnestly wished relations of some sort with Russia, and therefore it generously supported M. Boris Bakhmetev, the Ambassador of the defunct Provisional Government at Washington. When the Soviet decree repudiating Russia's debts was published, there remained unexpended in American banks a portion of the American loan to the Kerensky Government, which thereafter was known as the Liquidation Fund and which might not be drawn upon by the Russian Ambassador without special authorization by the American Government. Out of this fund Bakhmetev was not only permitted to maintain his own staff in Washington, but the legations in Norway and Belgium, and even to defray the expenses of this non-existent Government's delegation at the Peace Conference. (See Senate Document already quoted, pp. 123, 132-140.)

#### KOLCHAK CAMPAIGN

For some months before the Versailles Conference American military and naval units had been assisting the other Allies in a policy of active intervention and blockade directed against the Soviet Government. This had been ordered by President Wilson, without any declaration of hostilities by Congress, as a war measure against the Central Powers. But with the advent of the Armistice Senators Borah and Johnson led a crusade of public opinion against the expedition, and the troops were recalled. It was at the Peace Conference, however, after the Prinkipo project and the Bullitt mission had failed, that the great Allied Powers reached the decision to promote the counter-revolutionary effort of Admiral Kolchak, who willingly promised to pay all Russia's debts and establish a democratic Government. The American War Department thereupon sold war supplies to Kolchak upon credit, and when he failed received payment only to the extent of \$600,000. As a further aid to the counter-revolutions, the Treasury Department allowed the payment of \$1,239,000 out of the Liquidation Fund for the printing of paper money for the various *de facto* Russian Governments. (See Senate document already quoted, pp. 157-162.)

The repudiation of the debts of Russia by the Soviet Government has been a principal reason for the refusal of the United



GEORGHY VALENTINOVICH CHICHERIN  
Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs since March, 1918; he was born in 1872 and was a member of the Russian diplomatic service before joining the Social Democrats

States to recognize it. On Jan. 17, 1918, three weeks before Ambassador Francis officially notified the State Department of the cancellation decree, and acting only upon rumor, Secretaries McAdoo and Lansing agreed that the American loan to Russia must be made secure before the new Government could be recognized. (Senate document, pp. 98 and 105-106.) In February Ambassador Page, as America's representative on the Interallied Financial Council, concurred in a resolution declaring it to be a principle of international law that every new Government must take over the debts of its predecessors. By midsummer of 1918 the policy of non-recognition was so definitely adopted that Colonel Robbins, who favored recognition, declared to Secretary Lansing that in his opinion trade relations could be established even without that gesture. Needless to say, therefore, the Soviet Envoy, M. Martens, was neither received nor permitted to draw upon the Russian deposits in American banks. The

decision to aid Kolchak was a further indication of the determination of the Wilson Administration.

However, it remained for Secretary Colby to make the most unequivocal statement of Wilson's policy in a note to Baron Avezana, the Italian Ambassador, in which he refused to participate in a conference to settle the Russo-Polish conflict, and assigned as the reasons for America's policy of non-recognition: (1) Repudiation of the debts; (2) subversive propaganda, and (3) the despotic character of the Bolshevik régime, which rendered untenable its claim to a basis in popular will. (Text in "Soviet Russia and the United States," in *CURRENT HISTORY*, Vol. XII, September, 1920, p. 929.) But until a Government capable of speaking for the whole Russian people should give its assent Wilson would not recognize the new Baltic nations, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, either. Among the last acts of the Wilson Administration was the sending of a note to the League of Nations admitting that the policy of intervention had served only to strengthen the Soviet Government, and proposing to deprive it of all merely patriotic support by a guarantee of non-intervention. Finally, shortly before President Harding's inauguration, M. Martens was deported.

To the overtures promptly made by the Soviet Government to the Harding Administration, Secretary Hughes, with equal promptness, replied through the American Consul at Reval that trade relations could be resumed only when "the safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract and the rights of free labor" had been adequately assured. ("New Russian Policy," in *New Republic*, Vol. XXVI, April 6, 1921, pp. 143-146.) Russia was not invited to the Washington disarmament conference; and in 1922 Hughes refused an invitation to participate in The Hague Conference on Russian Relations. According to M. Chicherin, the Soviet Government in 1922 declined to entertain a proposal emanating from Ambassador Houghton, who "was sympathetic toward the restoration of relations," that the American Government send a commission to Russia to investigate conditions with a view to possible recognition, the reason being that the one-sidedness of the arrangement would imply the inferiority of the Soviet Republic. ("Chicherin's Report on the International Situation," in *Russian Review*, Vol. III, April 15, 1927, pp. 170-171). The importance of the Russian question in international poli-

tics during 1922, and the frequency with which men of the opinions of Senator Borah alluded to America's attitude toward it, both in Congress and outside that body, probably contributed to induce Secretary Hughes to make a new definitive statement of the policy of the United States in March, 1923, wherein he admitted the apparent stability of the Soviet Government, but declared that relations of confidence would be impossible as long as that Government should persist in its propagandist activity and in debt repudiation. The Soviet leaders commented that Mr. Hughes had overlooked the promises made by them at the Genoa and Hague conferences in 1922 to acknowledge their obligations in the matter of the debts and confiscated property upon certain conditions, and they intimated that they might consider as a special matter the American loan made to Kerensky and not to the Czar. ("Why America Refuses to Recognize Russia" and "Russian Comment on America's Attitude," in *CURRENT HISTORY*, Vol. XVIII, May, 1923, pp. 286-292.)

#### REASONS FOR NON-RECOGNITION

Late in 1923 the American policy of non-recognition was stated in a formula which has never since been departed from. The new President, Mr. Coolidge, in his annual message, referred to the Russian problem in terms which emphasized the justice of the American demands, but which at the same time seemed to invite to conciliation. M. Chicherin promptly countered with a note offering to discuss all claims against the Soviet Government, provided the Soviet counterclaims for damages resulting from American aid in the interventions and counter-revolutions might also be discussed; he further accepted the principle of mutual non-intervention in internal affairs. Secretary Hughes replied to these overtures by refusing categorically to meet the Russians in a conference until their obligation to pay American citizens for confiscated property and to pay the debts to the American Government had been unconditionally accepted. The idea that the United States might be a debtor to Russia as well as a creditor, he dismissed indignantly. Finally he declared that negotiations could not be entered into as long as propaganda hostile to American institutions continued to emanate from Moscow, and shortly produced the famous Zinoviev letter in proof of his charge. ("No Rush to Know Russia," in *Literary Digest*, Vol. LXXX, Jan. 5, 1924, p. 10.) For his firm and determined stand

Secretary Hughes received both praise and censure in the American press. Attempts were made to argue him into a conference governed by the principle of reciprocity, but unsuccessfully, and Mr. Hughes's version stands as the classic exposition of the policy of the Government of the United States in the matter of recognition. It is impossible to list all the articles and editorials provoked by the Coolidge-Chicherin-Hughes episode, but reference to the 1924 files of the following magazines will prove interesting: *The Literary Digest*, the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *Current Opinion*, the *Freeman*, and the *Independent*. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* are invaluable, especially Vol. CXIV, July, 1924, pp. 70-83.

#### FAMINE RELIEF

The absence of diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia has by no means prevented other contacts. In 1919 the Congress of the United States voted the very considerable sum of \$100,000,000 for famine relief in Russia, for the judicious administration of which it was necessary for the American relief organization to negotiate an agreement with the Soviet authorities. In spite of the absence of official diplomatic protection, a large number of students and observers of political and economic affairs have visited Russia and have always been welcome.

Before 1924 it was widely believed in America that only the abjuration of Communism in Russia and compensation for the confiscated property could restore the confidence which alone would make production and exchange in and with Russia possible. Of this view Mr. Hoover was one of the chief exponents. Since the beginning of that year, however, a respectable business intercourse has developed. The program of industrial development and modernization upon which the Soviet Government has embarked has entailed a great demand for foreign machinery and the assistance of foreign technicians. It is estimated by a State Department official that about 500 visitors from the Soviet Union, "mostly representatives of various Soviet institutions, banks, business organizations, scientific and cultural bodies," have been granted visas in the past three years. According to a letter to the author from Harold Kellock, Statistical Director of the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, D. C., dated Feb. 4, 1927, these students of agronomy, forestry, mining and electrification have been free to come to

the United States and to remain until their studies have been completed. Similarly, American technical skill has been aroused to professional opportunities in the Soviet Union. Thus, for instance, the Chicago firm of Allen & Garcia, mining engineers, has sent a group of consulting engineers to assist in the introduction of the most approved American methods of coal mining in the Donets Basin. For the construction of a \$75,000,000 hydroelectric project on the Dnieper River in Ukraine, the Soviet Government was able to secure the services of no less a man than Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, the well-known builder of Muscle Shoals.

At the beginning of 1924, there was practically no trade between the United States and Russia, whereas since then the value of the annual exchange between them was in 1925 well over \$100,000,000, more than twice the amount of the year 1913, and in 1926 over \$60,000,000. This commerce is carried on through four Russian organizations incorporated in the United States, the chief of which is the Amtorg Trading Corporation. Imports into the United States are very light, but until 1925 this country ranked first in the amount of its exports to Russia, dropping to third place in 1926, when it was superseded by England and Germany, who offered greater credit facilities. Ford tractors, the products of the International Harvester Company (one of the heaviest American losers by the confiscation decree), industrial machinery, and cotton, are the chief items of export. A few American capitalists have been successful in obtaining valuable concessions in the Soviet Union, notably the Harriman interests in the manganese fields, and Mr. Hammer-smith and his associates in the gold fields.

So numerous have business and other contacts become that a postal agreement has had to be entered into with the Soviet Government, under which, for instance, the American Department of Agriculture must visa the phylloxera's certificates attached to parcels containing live plants and addressed to the Soviet Union, in order to insure their admission there, according to an announcement by W. Irving Glover, Second Assistant Postmaster General in the *United States Daily*, Feb. 14, 1927, p. 14.

Since Secretary Hughes, in December, 1923, gave final expression to the policy of the United States toward Russia, every other considerable Power has recognized the Soviet régime. In January, 1925, Japan entered into a treaty with the Soviet Union which to many seemed to threaten the posi-



tion of America in the Far East. When almost simultaneously Secretary Hughes announced his resignation, there were quick conjectures of a connection between the two events. To some the resignation foreshadowed a change in America's policy induced by the danger of a Russo-Japanese entente; to others the possibility of a change was viewed as the impulse under which Japan speedily came to terms with the Soviets. M. Chicherin was eager to believe the former. (*Russian Review*, Vol. III, April, 1925, pp. 170-171; Fischer, Louis, "America, Japan, and Russia," in the *Nation*, Vol. CXX, March 25, 1925, p. 317).

#### MR. KELLOGG'S POLICY

The new Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, has adhered closely to the policy followed by Hughes. Nor has there been any perceptible change in the Soviet policy as expressed in Chicherin's overtures following President Coolidge's message of December, 1923. Their leaders refuse to enter any conference under a previous commitment to pay what they term the Imperialist debts, but they openly state that they are willing to compromise on the basis of mutual advantage. Their eagerness for recognition by the United States they freely admit. Certain large business interests in America, with an eye to opportunity, especially the Sinclair Oil Company, and Mr. Ivy Lee of the Standard Oil, have joined the persistent demand of certain liberals for recognition. But the State Department has repeatedly indicated its determination to persist in its present policy. Thus it refused Mme. Kollontai, the newly appointed Soviet Minister to Mexico, permission to pass through the United States en route to her post, showing thereby its indignation both at the Soviet system and at Mexico's action in recognizing it. (*The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1926). Finally, Secretary Kellogg flatly denied the Muscovite statement that recognition advances had been made by the United States during 1926, and he reiterated word for word the policy enunciated by Mr. Hughes on Dec. 18, 1923.

A number of interesting events have occurred in 1927. The first was the fear expressed by the Department of State, during the controversy with Mexico over Nicaragua, of "a Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony intervening between the United States and the Panama Canal." In support of this fear Secretary Kellogg laid before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations a document describing Communistic activities in Mexico and in the United States directed

against American imperialism. Upon all this the Soviet officials commented in a very sarcastic vein. (*The New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1926; Jan. 4, 1927; Jan. 13, 1927; Jan. 18, 1927). Nevertheless, the American Government soon after, for the first time in nearly ten years, was represented at an international conference where the Soviet Government also was represented, namely the Geneva Economic Conference. Furthermore, a strange spectacle was presented when the American delegates assisted the Soviet delegates to secure the adoption of a resolution admitting the possibility of a capitalistic and a communistic system existing side by side.

Great Britain's breach of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government late in May, 1927, has appeared to many as a vindication of the American policy of non-recognition, and Mr. John W. O'Leary, one of the American delegates to the Geneva Conference openly congratulated the British Government. But beyond confirming the American Government in this policy, it seems unlikely at present that other results adverse to Russo-American relations will follow. In spite of the uncompromising tone of the State Department, which to Russians at least has the merit of having been consistent, Soviet officials openly affirm their intention to divert a considerable part of their trade with Great Britain to the United States.

Most interesting, as an indication of the power of the Soviet Government in the business world, and especially as an indication of the willingness of American business men to deal with it, is the proof of its success in driving a wedge between the oil giants, Royal Dutch-Shell and the Standard companies, which have long pursued identical policies. The American companies, Vacuum and Standard of New York, have contracted to purchase large quantities of oil from the Soviet Government; the Standard of New Jersey and the British Royal Dutch-Shell denounced the policy and strove unsuccessfully to cause the cancellation of the contracts. The apparent result has been only to compel the New Jersey company to bring its policy into line with that of the other Standard organizations. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that whatever the attitude of the State Department may be toward recognition, individual American business groups do not hesitate to negotiate with the Soviet Government for commercial privileges, and that the time may come when trade intercourse will necessitate recognition.

# The Race Factor in Mexican Anti-Clericalism

By FREDERICK H. MARTENS

AUTHOR OF WORKS ON FAIRY TALES AND FOLKLORE AND MUSIC CRITIC

ALTHOUGH much has been written about Mexican anti-clericalism and the struggle still going on between Church and State in Mexico, little attention has been paid to what is perhaps the most important factor in explaining why the great majority of Mexicans seem to regard with apathy what practically amounts to the suppression of the religion they have supposedly professed ever since the Spanish Conquest, four centuries ago, dethroned the gods of the native mythologies.

Race, the race soul, race instinct and religious tradition, however, more than anything else, explain why Christianity in Mexico, as exemplified by the Roman Catholic Church, has been waging a losing battle in a land whose very *mestizos*, its halfbreeds, are biologically reverting to the older Indian strain. Professor Calcott's recent *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857*, is probably one of the best expositions of the social and political causes which have prepared the way for the anti-clerical movement. When instancing the enormous number of baptisms due to the enthusiastic Spanish missionary program, from 1524 to 1539, at which time the Franciscans announced the Christianization of a million Indians in the valley of Mexico, a million in the district of Texcuco and some three millions in Michoacan and other provinces, he lays his finger on the root of the trouble—though he does nothing more—when he places a note of interrogation after the word "conversion" in the following sentence: "This conversion (?) of the natives to Christianity naturally resulted in many explorations with the monks as leaders."

The Mexicans, in so far as they are Indian (and this means the great majority), have been unwilling to take steps, either active or passive, to defend what is considered the national religion, because at heart they are no more Christian in any more serious sense of the word than they were in the days of Montezuma, the "Angry Lord," when the red "jewel-water," as the Aztecs poetically called human blood, ran in streams down the stone altars of Huitzillipochtli, the god of war, and of Tezcatlipoca,

the god of fate. And the "explorations" of the monks did not reveal to them the Indian soul.

The feelings, emotions and mental processes of the Mexican Indian are much the same today as they were 400 years ago. The lily of Mexico resists hybridizing; an alien pollen does not affect it. Similarly, the Mexican aborigine still runs true to his race-type. As a writer who knows his subject has said of the Mexicans as a people, "There is some Indian quality which pervades the whole. \* \* \* And all the efforts of white men to bring the soul of the dark men of Mexico into final clinched being has resulted in nothing but the collapse of the white man."

As is now generally known, the Aztec empire of Montezuma was not the elaborate feudal system for which it was mistaken by the Spaniards when they conquered it. Like the Iroquois of the "Long House," the Aztecs were a confederacy of tribes, again divided into clans and phratries, and owning land in common (the governmental return to this ancestral form of communism has been especially marked in the Mexican State of Yucatan), and their "Emperor" Montezuma was in reality a sort of sublimated war chief. They were red men on a higher cultural level, but this level itself was essentially red. And no matter how the Aztecs fought among themselves and against their cinnamon-colored brothers, the Otomies, Chichimeks, Meztitlans, Tlascalans, Huexotzinkos, Chiapas and Zapotecs, they clung to the ideal of race solidarity in the blood tie which they shared with the more cultured Toltecs and Mayas on the one hand and with the wilder tribes which surrounded them on the other.

The Central American Indians have not changed in this respect. Their "Indian quality" is a race inheritance to which they are true; and they have never wavered from their primitive belief in the "blood-soul." The higher humanity ascends in striving for union with the divine, the greater is the influence of the spiritual in its efforts. But though the human sacrifices of the Aztecs are a thing of the past,

the Mexican Indian still feels that what we speak of as the soul lives in the pulse of the blood, the red "jewel-water," and that bond between himself and the powers divine is a blood-bond, not a spirit-bond. In the ritual sacrifice of human beings to the gods the Aztecs held that the blood of the victim, flowing down the sides of the stone altar, returned to its source, "the great blood-being." The Mexican Indian still believes that the blood of the individual is a loan which eventually finds its way back to the reservoir divine! Nowhere is this feeling more strikingly reflected than in the indifference with which death is dealt out and suffered in civil war and conflict in Mexico today; which bears witness to the fact that Mexican Christianity is a surface veneer of Mexican primalism.

The Spaniards, at the time of the conquest, were unquestionably avid for gold. At the same time they were deeply and sincerely religious. A distinguished Spanish writer of note (R. Blanco-Fombona: *El Conquistador Español del Siglo XVI, Ensayo de Interpretación, Madrid, 1922.*) has summed up the case against his countrymen, clerics and laics, in connection with the destruction of the documentary evidence of Aztec culture: "Exaggerating a little, one might say that these warriors, worthy of Homer, knew less than the mathematical horses of Erbeffield (which aroused Maeterlinck's admiration) and possessed less trend toward philosophy than Landseer's humanized and well-nigh spiritualized dogs. \* \* \* To ignorance, allied with religious fanaticism and an absolute lack of intellectual curiosity on the part of soldiers as well as clerics, men of letters as well as magistrates, it is due that the great empires, Peruvian as well as Aztec, have disappeared without leaving traces of their antique civilizations."

Nevertheless, it is only fair to add that religious tolerance was unknown to Christianity in general at the time. Had the conquest chanced to have been a North German instead of a Spanish achievement, Luther might have uttered Torquemada's words, "The Indians are no longer allowed to sing their ancient songs because of their diabolic reminiscences," and French Huguenot ministers would have destroyed the Mexican picture-writing codexes and monuments with as much zest as did Roman Catholic priests. Nor should one forget that in Mexico, in the days after the conquest, with regard to the protection of the Indian against his oppressors, as Professor Calcott

says, "to the regular clergy in particular a tribute of appreciation is due for the inspiring example they gave of Christian devotion and service."

#### FOREIGN GODS

It was intelligent policy that led the Roman Catholic Church to encourage the Indians to shift the identity of their own ancient gods and goddesses to the persons of the Trinity and the saints. This was the easier because the splendor and ceremonial of the Aztec ritual had prepared the Indian for the pomp of Roman worship. The present state of affairs, however, offers eloquent proof of the fact that the Indians, though accepting outer forms, did not penetrate into the inner meaning of the white man's faith. The sight Humboldt beheld in Peru in 1802, when in the Province of Pasto, on the Andean ridge, he "saw Indians masked and hung with bells, dance wild dances around the altar, while a Franciscan raised the Host," might have been in Mexico as well. The underlying trouble was that "the wild dances" meant more, and have continued to mean more, to the Indians than the "raising of the Host," for the Christian gods are still "foreigners" to the Mexicans; they are not gods of his own race, of his own blood, with the red-brown or cinnamon-colored skin Indian gods must have.

The inborn conviction that only an Indian god will listen to an Indian's prayers still permeates the whole Central American Indian culture area. To this day, despite missionary effort, the Saviour of the Hopi Indians of Arizona is a red Christ, Poseyemo, born of an Indian virgin beneath a piñon tree, and not the white Christ of Judea. In Mexico, through the centuries, white gods have been associated in the Indian mind with the alien blood of the *blancos*, the whites. Whatever their surface acceptance of them, the difference in color, though only skin deep, between the white and the Indian has been a barrier which has resisted any acceptance of Christianity in a more valid sense.

When the Mexican Indians caper in totemistic jaguar skins in those sacred dance spectacles with which the Spanish *padres* have appealed to their love for the dance, it is the echo of olden Zapotecan or Aztec ritual in action and in chant which registers on their consciousness, not the new Christian words which the priests had provided for their traditional holy songs. The very same Indian who bows his head in the



adobe village church in the morning at mass may be dancing at night the wild, primitive rounds of one of the Indian secret dancing societies like that of the "Dancers of Totolitz," which was formed to preserve the old religious heritage of the race and whose members were initiated with pagan ceremonial in a cave at the foot of the volcano of Azuzco.

To Americans the name of the Yaquis, that savage Sonoran tribe which no Mexican Government has ever subdued and which plucks its scalps from white feet instead of heads, is probably more familiar than that of any other Mexican aboriginal Indian clan. Of Nahua stock, whatever Catholicism they may profess is one in name only, and they are still swayed by their tribal sorcerers as they were when Nuño de Guzman first penetrated into their country in 1535. The consistent and belligerent hatred which the Yaquis feel for all white men, the *yori*, as they call them, in the case of the gentler, more fatalistic tribes of Mexican Indians, however, takes shape as resignation to an evil which cannot be avoided.

The psychic and physiological gulf which yawns between the red man and the white man is the same in both cases. A curious instance of how tenaciously the Mexican Indian clings to his own religious traditions is his dancing at the great annual festival of the one Christian Madonna who—in so far as the Indians are concerned—is wholeheartedly accepted as authentic and genuine. This Madonna is the famous *Guadalupana*, the Holy Virgin of Guadalupe, for she is of their race, a "red" Madonna, an *India*, and something more. On the day of her festival 50,000 Indians from all parts of Mexico gather at her shrine, in which the fragrance of flowers—the same flowers the Aztecs so delighted in offering to their ancient gods—drowns the odor of incense. As late as 1853 the clergy allowed the Indians, clad in the feather dresses of Montezuma's day, to dance in the cathedral proper, but soon after the Archbishop of Mexico of that day forbade "these diversions which they formerly indulged in in honor of Tonantzin."

The Archbishop was mistaken only in saying "formerly." There is little doubt that the dancers always had, and still have, the Aztec goddess Tonantzin in mind. Tonantzin, in fact, is the "something more" which makes *la Guadalupana* dear to the Indian heart. In Montezuma's time the temple of Tonantzin ("Our Mother") the Aztec sky goddess, stood some two miles



A country church near Tepozotlan, Mexico

out of the City of Mexico. On its ruins the Spaniards built the present cathedral. Thus the spot in itself has been holy in Indian eyes through the ages. In his heart the Indian today identifies *la Guadalupana* with Tonantzin, the "Mother of the Gods" of the Aztec skies, whom his forefathers worshipped in the self-same place before the white man came.

Wearing their face masks, stimulated by "the four hundred little gods of the *pulque*" as they tread their ancient steps to the chant of hymn-tunes which their own *papas* had chanted long before the shore of that New World was seen rising above the horizon of perilous seas from the caravels of Columbus, one need hardly ask whether the Indians—now driven from the shrine of the cathedral enclosure—dance in honor of Christian Mary or Aztec Tonantzin, the goddess with the serpent skirt.

Many travelers in Mexico, both before and after Lucien Biart, have found, "in grottos unexpectedly discovered," the figure of some ancient Indian god before whom recent offerings of fruit or flowers

had been placed. The Yaqui chew the *marihuana* herb as a religious rite, just as the Huichol and Tarahumare Indians eat the *peyote* cactus. But the dreams and visions they induce are not those of Christian mysticism. They follow the old trails which lead to the ancient gods of the blood.

In Santo Domingo, in the Province of Oaxaca, there stands a church which is a splendid example of the Spanish baroque style. But its bells of silver bronze, which once called the Indians to worship, have vanished. Its golden altar vessels have disappeared. It seems the relic of a dying faith in a pagan land. Yet in neighboring Juchitin the Zapotecan Indians still venerate, "as though it were a god," the sacred "Tree of the Little Hands," with its red flowers shaped like a hand with fingers bent inward.

The antagonism of the Mexican Government to the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico is purely political, but it is the indifference of the mass of the pagan Indian population to the Christian cult in general which makes it possible for the Government to carry out its anti-clerical measures. This indifference on the part of the aboriginals, this drawing aside of the skirt of race from the alien religion, is a mute but eloquent repudiation of Christianity, of the "white gods" who in the very nature of things, so the Indian's instinct tells him, cannot feel for the red men who are not of his blood.

It is a question whether in any Christian European country a Government would feel itself sufficiently powerful to carry out the anti-clerical program which the Mexican Government has inaugurated. But the Mexicans are neither European nor Christian. They are at bottom Amerind pagans

who cling with all the red man's tenacity to race ideals grounded in primitivism. The truth of the matter is that, in spite of the century-long labors of priest and missionary, when the Mexican is scratched the Aztec, Huichole or Zapotecan appears. Once this is realized, the otherwise inexplicable spectacle of a people allowing its Government to sweep away the superstructure of what is considered its national religious system, without any serious effort to prevent, is largely explained.

Some recent evidence may be adduced to show how important a part the race factor plays in the present struggle. There is no need to hark back to 1868, when the Zotzil Indians crucified a native village boy to provide themselves with a saviour of their own blood who would help them. Karl Sapper states (1925), as to the relation of the Christian God to the pagan gods in the Indian mind, that "he has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life." And Franz Blom, who conducted the University of Tulane Middle America Expedition of 1925, is still more definite: "While the Indians are ostensibly Christians, \* \* \* in many ways they are still unconverted." (*Tribes and Temples*, Vols. 1, 2. Tulane University, La. 1926.) Visiting an ancient idol on a hill near Ocosingo, on whose altar stood bowls of copal incense and offerings, he adds: "Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar. \* \* \* I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living."



# The Crisis in Zionism

By ERVIN S. ACEL, Ph. D.

WRITER ON RACIAL TOPICS

THE ambition of Zionists to build up a Jewish National Home in Palestine has, temporarily at least, suffered a check. Since August, 1926, more Jews are leaving the Holy Land than are going there. In fact, immigration is practically suspended and Zionists complain that it is more difficult for the Jews to enter their National Home than any other part of the world, including even the United States.

Jewish immigration to Palestine is partly financed by charitable contributions over and above whatever capital the individual immigrant can muster. Last year a sum of about \$5,000,000 was collected, of which 75 per cent. came from America. During the last four years the net Jewish immigration amounted to 52,140. On Sept. 1, 1926, there were about 158,000 Jews in Palestine compared with only 84,000 before the war, and with about 15,000,000 scattered all over the world. The Arabs in Palestine number about 540,000; the Christians 75,000.

The suspension of immigration has been caused by an economic crisis now prevailing in Palestine. In the first part of 1925 a great building boom was in progress to supply housing accommodation to the large number of immigrants who came in during that year. When, however, the housing demand became satisfied, employment could not be found for everybody. At present there are in the whole country 8,000 unemployed and of them about 2,500 unemployable and permanently dependent on charity. This adverse development can easily be understood if we examine the trade balance of Palestine for 1926:

Imports ..\$32,146,000	Exports ... \$6,488,000
	Tourists' expenditures 1,125,000
	Miscellaneous 1,000,000
	Deficit .... 23,408,000
Total ...\$32,146,000	Total ....\$32,146,000

Figures for the previous four years show similar deficits and reveal that in order to buy the necessary foodstuffs, raw materials and machinery, Palestine has lost every year most of the capital which the Jewry has sent her or which the new immigrants

brought with them. As Professor Roscher, the well-known German economist, once said, "the country losing capital must export its population." The Zionists are trying to stop this loss by developing agriculture and industry. Besides individual holdings, land has been bought from Arabs by the Jewish National Fund which issues forty-nine-year leaseholds to settlers but retains ownership for the Jewish people. But there is here a great obstacle in the fact that the land must be bought at very high prices from the Arabs and that the products from it must compete in the world market with those more cheaply grown. The Jewish rural population numbers about 32,000. Industry is only in the initial stages, as the main purpose has been to solve the agricultural problem. In July, 1926, there were 598 Jewish factories employing an average of ten workers each. Most of these "factories" are but small workshops, and Professor Franz Oppenheimer says that there are "perhaps three enterprises of any size in the whole country." Another writer observes that "those factories that are actually ready to work properly in the European sense \* \* \* can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The others either lack operating capital, being able to carry on either sporadically (and with money borrowed at fantastic rates) and mostly at a fraction of their potential capacity, or else they did not have even sufficient investment capital to install complete machinery." Not only capital and experience are lacking but the Jewish workmen are strongly organized for high wages; they have unionized even the desultory and cheap Arab worker. The possibilities of industry are, of course, limitless in any country which can compete in the world market. For Palestine a market exists in Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus and other cities of Greater Lebanon and Syria containing about 4,000,000 consumers, poor though they be.

The answer to the question, "What is wrong with Zionism?" seems to be that, although Jews are financially and culturally very powerful all over the world, only the poor and unsuccessful Jew who has a heroic capacity to suffer, but is without constructive experience, goes to Palestine. If rich



Jewish bankers, manufacturers, and merchants settled permanently there with their capital, Zionism would have at least a fair trial. Their personal wants alone, not to mention the industry which they could try to create with their money and experience, would give employment to tens of thousands. History records many instances of whole industries and towns emigrating to other countries either to avoid religious persecution or at the instance of far-sighted statesmen. But as one wag put it, "The Zionist is a rich Jew who pays a poor Jew to live in Palestine." The situation is much the same as during the Babylonian captivity when the Temple was destroyed and most of the Jewish nobles, priests and artisans were deported to Babylonia. Here the Jews prospered, and half a century later when Cyrus, the Persian conqueror, permitted them to return to Jerusalem only a few desired to leave rich Babylonia; though those who stayed continued to lament over their misfortune. Again, many of the Zionist leaders have seen Palestine only as tourists; Zionism is but a hobby for them. The movement is governed by the Zionist Congress elected by contributors all over the world. Between the sessions of the Congress, the executive authority is exercised by committees elected by the Congress. Thus the inhabitants of the country are prevented from growing into a self-governing community which profits by its own mistakes and develops leaders through the stress of struggle.

Long before the Balfour Declaration the British Government made suggestions to Zionists to found colonies under its rule. It was but logical for Great Britain after the victorious peace of 1918 to champion the Jewish Homeland in Palestine which, with Egypt, protects the Suez Canal, and is a good landing point for air connections to India and countries beyond. Palestine is one of the few countries under British rule that pays its way. At the end of 1926 the governmental budget had a surplus of £1,000,000, and it is the only country which is paying the British creditors its share of the former Turkish debt. Today Palestine is policed only by a small mixed force, although in 1920 the British Government spent between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000 to maintain an army there. This is in marked contrast with the neighboring Syria, where France has had to wage costly wars. France is appreciative of this fact and many official French spokesmen have intimated that she would welcome Zionist colonization. Parts of Syria are but a nat-

ural continuation of Palestine and well suited for modern settlements. In Biblical times Jews in Syria were relatively more numerous than in any other foreign country.

But Syria is not the only neighbor which might fall under Zionist influence, provided the movement succeeds. The adjacent Transjordanian could easily support a million Jews if closely settled. "Is it to be supposed that during the next twenty or thirty years there will not be an influx of Jews into Transjordanian; and how can the influx be prevented?" writes J. M. Kenworthy, a member of the House of Commons. With a couple of million Jews in Palestine, Syria and Transjordanian, and with many more millions eager to come from the four corners of the world, the Zionists could press even further and the Kingdom of David, which for a short while stretched from the border of Egypt to the river of Euphrates, would rise from the Bible myth again.

#### THE ARAB DANGER

Pressure, however, begets counter-pressure, and the handful of Zionists is facing the mighty force of Islam, unorganized as it still is. Even in Palestine the Arabs outnumber the Jews four to one, and behind Palestine are immense Mohammedan countries, warlike and bigoted, still mindful of the time when Suleiman was grappling with Christian armies at the gates of Vienna and the Saracens pressed north from Spain to give battle in Southern France to Charles Martel. It would take a comparatively small effort to push Zionism, clinging as it does to a narrow strip of territory, into the Mediterranean Sea. Great Britain may control Palestine, but of what avail were all the notes sent to Kemal Pasha when he was driving from Asia Minor the unfortunate Greeks and Armenians? The mighty efforts required of France in Syria may also serve as food for thought. It is just as futile to argue that Zionism benefits the Arabs as that Asia Minor was made by the Greeks.

Because of the present crisis, Zionists looked forward with great interest to the fifteenth "Jubilee" Congress which was held in September, 1927, at Basle, Switzerland. After stormy sessions, Professor Weizmann was re-elected in spite of the violent opposition of the radicals, the chauvinist "Revisionists," and the religious "Mizrachi." The Executive Committees were selected from efficient and conservative men. Great Britain came in for much criticism for not giving the Zionists more active support,

while Professor Weizmann was attacked for his lenient attitude toward the Mandatory Power. A protective tariff, reduction of taxes, more employment for Zionists on public works, larger contribution toward educational and sanitary expenses, and the opening up the Palestinian State lands for Jewish immigration were demanded from the British Colonial Office. But Great Britain's position is difficult, since the Mandate stipulates that the interests of the Arabs shall not be "prejudiced." Without British neutrality the Arab dissatisfaction, which in 1920-1921 resulted in bloody demonstrations might flare up again. A general tariff would only serve to make the Arabs pay the expenses of building up the Jewish National Home. The Government also has to consider the need of the Arabs in regard to public employment and the State lands. Great Britain contends that the elaborate sanitary system and the Hebrew schools and university should not burden the British or Arab taxpayer. The present crisis will automatically decrease taxes, which the Zionists find too burdensome. It is clear, however, that the granting by Great Britain of these demands would not suffice to solve the present difficulties. Salvation must come from the Jewry in the form of more money and constructive ideas, for the Zionist Organization ended last year with a deficit of \$750,000. Meanwhile, the Ruthenberg Electrification project, the Haifa Harbor Improvement, and other public works will be started at once; and the Administration will try to negotiate a loan. No immigration will be assisted until the present surplus population is completely absorbed by the farming districts.

The question of the "Jewish Agency" precipitated another lively discussion. In order to interest all Jews in the work, Article 4 of the Mandate stipulates the creation of an Agency to be made up of Zionists and non-Zionists in equal numbers. Professor Weizmann and Mr. Louis Marshall of Chicago, leader of the non-Zionist Jewry of America, made a preliminary arrangement last January. Several experts have just completed a survey of Palestine and as soon as their report is presented the "Jewish Agency" will be definitely organized. To understand the bitter opposition to this plan one has to know that in the Zionist budget every faction is taken care of, and the "big business men" of the Agency are ready to deal drastically with many unsound projects de-

manded by the radicals of the Right and the Left.

The attitude of Jews toward Zionism has varied according to their mental and material conditions. With the prosperous Western Jews Zionism is more or less a philanthropy and incompatible with allegiance to their adopted country. The assimilation of Western Jewry has gone so far already that return in force to Judaism seems impossible. The first Zionist Congress had to meet in Basle instead of Munich because of the opposition of the Jews of that German city. Although Zionism has been too orthodox for liberal Jews, some orthodox Jews have found it too liberal. The Rabbis' Association of Germany in 1897 declared that the "attempts of the Zionists to establish a national State in the Holy Land are contrary to Messianic promises," according to which God Himself will transport the chosen people to Palestine. The struggle which soon developed for the control of Zionism ended with the victory of the conservatives, especially when the orthodox "Mizrachi," joined the ranks. Philanthropic and economic Zionism received a nationalistic and religious color. As Felix Warburg put it very clearly, "economic and cultural development can be conducted by any one, but only Palestine is able to combine economic achievement with a spiritual rebirth." According to Professor Gottlieb of Columbia University, "nationalism is the very heart of Zionism." It is well understood that only the "religious motive" can urge most of the Jews to live in Palestine. The "Mizrachi" are forcing the Zionist administration to make settlers obey the Jewish religious laws.

Many believe that without Zionism as an inspiration the Jewish people will disappear by absorption, or as Max Nordau said, "either the Jews will become Zionists or they will cease completely to be." Others hope that the Jews as a nation in Palestine will contribute an original share to civilization. Scattered among Western nations Jews have given an especially good account of themselves, but this achievement has been only in the West, for the Jews living also in large numbers in the Levant have little to show. However, in Western Europe where they, in common with other peoples, adopted the Greek inheritance, the Jews achieved many results. This might serve as a basis for the belief that the Jew can be more credit to mankind and himself by staying among Western nations.

# The North and the South Today

By ROBERT WATSON WINSTON

FORMERLY JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE fact that the North and the South have recently seemed to be "entering into partnership" is not so strange when one recalls that the two sections were once closely united. Prior to the Civil War the agricultural South was, in fact, dependent upon the industrial North, not only for funds and manufactured articles but also for political assistance. The State of Pennsylvania was then the keystone of Democracy as well as of the Union, and Martin Van Buren of New York, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania—Northern men with Southern principles—thrice bore the banner of the Southern Democrats to victory. The Civil War, however, caused a decisive break in this union, and the mistaken view, during the reconstruction period, that the South should be controlled and coerced in dealing with the newly freed slave, widened the breach.

"Do you think Massachusetts can govern Georgia better than Georgia can govern herself?" Secretary Welles (called by Governor Andrew the "old Connecticut deacon"), asked Charles Sumner.

"I do," Sumner replied. "That's Massachusetts' mission."

In consequence of this coercive policy, the South and North parted company. Casual observers saw opportunities for a realignment first in the war with Spain and then in the World War. But the present union is the result of forces deeper and more fundamental even than a common cause in war.

"Trust the Southern people," Reverdy Johnson once said to the Senate, "and on my honor, they will not betray the trust." It is mutual trust that is making the North and the South one again. The North, with a negro problem of her own, has determined to leave the question to each State to handle and under trying circumstances, remarkably well are the Southern States handling it. Nor is the rapprochement between North and South so difficult as might be imagined. Today the South and the North are in a better position to form a satisfactory partnership than ever before, because the South of '27, unlike the South of '67, looks upon the problems of society from a national angle and not a sectional one. That is, the South has become de-localized and has

caught step with the outside world. Consider, for example, the matter of public education. Prior to '60, no Southern gentleman would have dreamed of sending his children to a public school even had there been such schools. Today, in the South as in the North, children, aristocratic and democratic, rich and poor alike, attend the graded schools together. In a word, the larger problems of humanity are bearing upon the consciences of Virginia and of Tennessee as heavily as they are upon Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

The fruit of this changed mental attitude of the South is seen most clearly in relation to the negro problem. How encouraging it is to know that in the sixteen Southern States, under the Rosenwald plan alone, \$13,000,000 has been expended in building negro schools, and that of this sum Southern whites contributed about \$1,000,000, personally and individually, and through taxation about \$7,000,000 more, while the negro himself raised the large sum of over \$3,000,000. Now that the nation has agreed that the negro question, in its political aspects, is a local issue, and hence cannot menace Southern white autonomy, the negro has ceased to be a red flag in the face of the whites and is getting a fairer deal. At a racial conference held recently at the University of North Carolina, Dr. J. W. Johnson, a noted negro editor and author, addressed whites and blacks alike, and after the conference, being invited to various classes where young men and women were taking sociology, he likewise lectured. Such an incident, rare indeed in the South, does not necessarily signify social equality, as I understand it, but does mean that the South is seeking knowledge from every quarter. This new, humanitarian view finds further expression in the treatment of negro criminals. Lynching in the South is on the decline. Surely it is some advance, though not enough, that the total lynchings in the South for the year 1925 fell to seventeen, whereas in former years they averaged nearly a hundred. Southern Governors are taking precautions to avoid such disgrace to their administrations, agreeing with Governor Morrison of North Carolina, who declared in 1922: "No damned nigger shall be lynched while I am Governor of North Carolina."

A most helpful factor in this connection



is the Southern negro himself. This man is fundamentally a wonderful creature, patient and adaptable; give him three things and he asks no more—peace, property and security—and these the Southern whites now gladly concede. To be sure, there are younger negroes who are restless and aggressive, demanding a force bill and the ballot for all. But even for this new negro there is an outlet. Harlem, the negro heaven, awaits him, where the negroes are segregated as in the South. There he may go and express himself, but will he be more content than the less sophisticated negroes remaining among their own white folks down in Dixie land?

While the change in Southern thought has not fully registered itself at the polls, the repercussion is manifesting itself in that direction also. It must not be forgotten that, even in Presidential elections, such Southern States as Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee have more than once jumped the Democratic sheepfold with North Carolina and Virginia, old Whig and "protection" States, not far behind. Let the Republican Party put into its platform the statement already known and understood of all—"The negro question is a local one"—and it would be a safe bet that the Southern States, as well as New England, would stand for a Henry Clay tariff. Did not the election of 1920 foreshadow such an outcome? That year the following Southern States voted for President Harding: Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee and West Virginia, with a total of fifty-five votes in the Electoral College.

The industrial bonds, however, between the North and the South are stronger than any social and political ties, and why should it not be the case? Geographically, the two sections are really one. Leaving New York in the afternoon, one can be in the heart of Dixie for breakfast. No mountain ranges separate the sections and the waves of the Atlantic beat with equal rhythm off New York and Boston and Charleston and Palm Beach. Each year hundreds of thousands of Northerners travel South for business or pleasure and hundreds of post-graduate and professional students from the South attend Northern colleges; while numberless conventions covering all fields of activity assemble delegates from both sections.

In 1866 there was not a solvent bank in the State of North Carolina, all were bankrupt. Throughout the South there was scarcely a railroad or a factory in actual

operation. Now, Southern enterprise and Northern capital combining have made the South the outstanding commercial wonder of the day. For example, a line of creameries, backed by Northern capital, stretches from Washington to New Orleans and the great Southern hydroelectric development has likewise been brought about largely by New York, Philadelphia and Boston money.

Some years ago Commodore Maury, the explorer of ocean highways, predicted that when an Isthmian canal connected the Atlantic and Pacific, the Gulf of Mexico would be the centre of world commerce. That prediction seems on the point of verification. Without including Florida, \$170,000,000 has recently been spent on different developments on the Gulf Coast. A bridge costing \$5,500,000 has been erected across Lake Pontchartrain at New Orleans, one costing \$2,000,000 across the bay at Mobile and two bridges costing nearly \$3,000,000 across the Cape Fear and Chowan Rivers in North Carolina. Soon we may expect that every river from the St. Croix to the Rio Grande will be spanned near its mouth by a bridge and one will be able to speed in a car from Bar Harbor to Galveston hardly ever out of sight or roar of old ocean. One by one the smaller Southern industries are also being strengthened or acquired by Northern capitalists. In Randolph County, North Carolina, fifteen of the seventeen cotton mills have been purchased with Northern capital and in Selma, two of the three, and this is a typical condition throughout the South. Northern capital has also figured largely in the development of the transportation systems, as railroads, bus lines, &c. In fact, unobtrusive forces are everywhere at work breaking down the barriers and soon the last one will have fallen.

#### NORTH AND SOUTH CHANGING PLACES

Now in this movement toward unification one must search for the paradox, as there is always some resistance to be overcome in every effort toward progress. Hence, we find that as the South has moved away from States' rights doctrine and become more nationally minded, the North has become more restrictive. It is the South which calls for national aid for roads and highways, for agriculture and education and for national health legislation. Even before prohibition, the Southern State of South Carolina, the State of John C. Calhoun, apostle of States' rights, constituted itself the guardian of its peo-

ple, dispensing liquor only to such as needed or called for it, while, after ten years of the amendment, it is the North which is demanding the return to States' rights and to Jeffersonian simplicity.

#### DANGERS OF PATERNALISM

Mr. Coolidge, a Republican President, is, moreover, reminding us that paternalism, as represented in the McNary-Haugen bill for farm relief, may be overdone. At William and Mary College, last year, he said: "I want to see the policy adopted by the States of discharging their public functions so faithfully that instead of an extension on the part of the Federal Government, there can be a contraction." This the President said after having cautioned that "no plan of centralization has ever been accepted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction and decline."

The South, however, is so anxious to develop her waste places that she is willing to take some chances with the Constitution. Thus, on the McNary-Haugen bill—a bill admittedly crude and unsatisfactory, if not actually unconstitutional—the South divided about 50-50; five Southern States, through their Senators, voting for the measure. Again it was a Southern Senator, Hoke Smith of Georgia, who precipitated much of the paternalistic legislation on the country. The most signal excursion of the United States Government into the field of education, for example, was the Smith-Lever act, to be followed by the Smith-Hughes act. These and other recent measures under which hundreds of millions of dollars are being poured into the South have created there a new national consciousness in education. In each Southern State there are from 250 to 500 home and farm demonstration agencies, manned by local men but aided by the Government. These agencies, as their officials modestly put it, "are fumbling away at the great problems of agricultural and economic development." It must be admitted that they are doing more, creating a national spirit and making a new South. In short, regardless of the old doctrine of States' rights, Southern Congressmen are stretching the welfare clause of the Constitution to cover anything tending to develop their section.

Naturally, a people whose minds are in-

tent on roads and schools and on welfare and health work have little time to quibble over the trifles of life. The most cooperative and community-awake people in America today, I would say, are in the urban and manufacturing centres of the South, as is demonstrated by the numerous issues of bonds for schools, highways and other public improvements. Taxation is a problem common to North and South, and so is the protective tariff system. Realizing the community of industrial and financial interests between North and South, twenty-one organizations now have a central unit in New York, called the National Industrial Board, which is furnishing data showing that the interests of the two sections are identical and that they have a common destiny. At a recent textile convention held in Atlantic City where Southern manufacturers had a large representation, the protective tariff was discussed and North and South were a unit in favor of it. Just as soon as the negro taboo and the "fundamental" religious taboo disappear, we may expect party lines to disappear also. North Carolina and South Carolina, with more spindle-hours a month than Massachusetts, will not continue to "blow hot and cold" on election days—will cease to vote for one party and pray for the other. Whether Al Smith is nominated for President or not, the fact that he has a strong following in the most prosperous Southern States is significant, as showing that the religious taboo is losing its power.

But the Southern States, though nationalized and cooperative, are still conservative; more so, perhaps, than those of the North, because of the absence of a foreign element. They are far removed from Sovietism or Red republicanism, and they respect the courts and love the Government. Well grounded in the fundamentals and recognizing the rights of things, as well as of persons, the Southern States are a fertile field for legitimate investment. As the people of the North are seeking a place to invest their surplus funds, and a milder climate where they can spend the Winter, and the people of the South desire more towns, more industries and more capital—in a word, as each section has what the other wants and is willing "to do business"—a workable partnership seems probable.



# Science Transmutes Coal Into Oil

By WATSON DAVIS

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**A**SIDE from food, there is probably no other commodity whose lack would more discommode the average American than oil. For oil is what makes the autos go. And with the autos today go most of America.

The question of a petroleum supply is not what causes many wrinkles upon America's brows at this time when our crude oil output has reached such height that gasoline prices are low, reservoirs are overflowing, and there is a demand that Congress do something about regulating such a fresh production of this natural liquid fuel. But those who have a long vision and a knowledge of the facts know that this is simply a temporary condition. The time will come when the oil supply will dwindle, gasoline will be higher in price, and automobiles will be forced to cultivate smaller appetites.

It is in preparation for such a time that chemists for the last few years have been experimenting with the conversion of coal into petroleum. And as often happens when chemists try hard enough and do enough work, their efforts have been successful. Not that the owners of oil wells need fear competition from the chemists' coal converting factory as yet, for the making of artificial petroleum from coal is still a difficult and expensive process.

Like many scientific developments, the principal work on the transformation of coal into oil has been done in Europe. In the old world the oil does not flow so freely from the ground and they see more vividly the necessity of preparing for the future. The three leaders in this research on artificial petroleum are Dr. Friedrich Bergius, of Heidelberg, Germany; Professor Franz Fischer, Director, Institute of Coal Research, in Germany, and General Georges Bacart, of Paris.

The beginnings of these researches date back before the World War, for a patent covering the making of gasoline and other chemicals from coal was among those received by the Alien Property Custodian when America entered the war. Although this patent lay ignored among the thousands similarly seized, there is now evidence that American industry is beginning to be interested in this problem of converting coal into

oil. One of our large oil companies recently announced that it had acquired patent right of some of Dr. Bergius's processes.

The key to these methods of obtaining liquid from solid fuel lies in what is called a catalyst. Emulating the proverbial match maker, the catalyst persuades unwilling but not incompatible chemicals to cast their lots together. In the synthesis of petroleum the gaseous products of the carbonization of coal are passed through a catalytic converter to produce the synthetic oil. Leave the catalyst out of the process, reproducing all the conditions of temperature, pressure and the proper ratio materials, and no oil is produced. In the descriptions of foreign processes the materials used and the condition within the apparatus have been freely told, but the catalyst has been shrouded in deep secrecy.

It was to be expected that under these circumstances American chemists would attempt to discover the composition and the method of making the very necessary catalyst which promotes the combination of other elements or compound without itself becoming a part of the combination. To the recent meeting of the American Chemical Society, three United States Bureau of Mines chemists, David W. Smith, J. D. Davis and D. A. Reynolds, reported progress in a research directed to this goal. They tried six different catalysts, all of them being mixtures of metals in a very finely divided state, exposing a great deal of surface to the action of the gases. The most effective was one made up of metallic cobalt and manganese oxid, with a small amount of metallic copper. This produced from the water-gas a mixture of hydrocarbons, ranging from the simple gaseous forms to those forming a clear, oily liquid. Another catalyst, consisting of cobalt, uranium and copper, brought down among other things a substance resembling white vaseline.

No claim has been advanced for commercial practicability with the present procedure. The water gas needed for the production of one gallon of fuel costs, it is estimated, 37 cents. Even at its greatest efficiency the present apparatus could not do more than bring the cost down to about 19



cents. But as a laboratory experiment on a moderately large scale the experiment is considered a success. It has accomplished its main purpose, which was the penetration of the veil of secrecy that has been drawn about the all-necessary part of the oil-making apparatus, the catalyst.

#### A NEW METAL

In other fields the search for new material and improvement upon present practices continued. Airship frames and light-weight pistons may soon be made from beryllium or its alloys, and this hitherto unknown metal may soon achieve the household familiarity that aluminum has won during the last two or three decades. Beryllium is a metal about a third lighter than aluminum, but is very much harder, scratching glass easily, like hard steel. According to H. S. Cooper, industrial chemist of Cleveland, Ohio, who has been conducting extensive experiments, it is one of the most remarkable of all metals in its elasticity. It is over four times as elastic as aluminum, and 25 per cent. more elastic than steel. And while aluminum corrodes easily on contact with salt water, beryllium shows very high resistance to this as well as to other metal-destroying liquids and fumes. It is light gray in color, and takes a polish like that of high-grade steel. It is chemically related to aluminum, and easily forms alloys with it. One of these, consisting of 70 per cent. beryllium and 30 per cent. aluminum, is one-fifth lighter than aluminum, far more resistant to corrosion, and in tensile strength far exceeds duralumin.

One quality may render beryllium especially valuable to the automobile industry. It expands under the influence of heat at about the same rate as cast iron. Thus, when used for light pistons inside the iron cylinders of automobile engines, it will present far less engineering difficulty than do the present types of light pistons, which expand at a rate different from that of iron.

Beryllium ores are found abundantly both in this country and abroad. At present they are hauled out of feldspar mines in New England by hundreds of tons, but are dumped away as waste. The commonest type of ore is known as beryl, polished crystals of which are sometimes worn as semi-precious stones. Although so new industrially that it cannot properly be said to have been born yet, scientifically beryllium is an old story. It has been known to chemists for 130 years. Vauquelin, a Frenchman, first indicated its existence in 1797. But

until recently it has remained merely a museum curiosity and a laboratory material, because it is so refractory that the cost of getting it in anything like a pure state has been prohibitive. But now that the cost of manufacture promises to be materially reduced by a new electrolytic process, it is probable that it will appear on the market in quantity within a few years.

#### LOCUST PODS AS FODDER

Another aid to agriculture may result from a contest being conducted by the American Genetics Association. This organization is looking for the locust tree with the biggest and best yield of pods. Honey locust pods are eaten eagerly by hogs and cattle, which find them very tasty and nutritious, and it is, therefore, believed possible that fodder for stocks will be harvested from the farmer's fence row and wood lot trees in the future years. Some of the elongated fruits of the honey locust tree are a foot or more from tip to tip, and the small hard seeds are embedded in a matrix of sweet gelatinous substance. The pods are somewhat similar to those of the carob of the Eastern Mediterranean countries, which has been used for centuries as stock food in its native land and is planted to some extent in our own Southwest. The carob will even do, at a pinch, for human food. When the Prodigal Son found himself reduced to "the husks that the swine did eat," it was these thick, sweetish carob pods he was eating; and under the name of "St. John's bread" they are regarded by some as having been the frugal diet of John the Baptist. Some experiments already in progress indicate that the native honey locust may be a fair competitor for the carob as a fodder producer. The present Governor of Georgia, Lamartine Hardman, likes to experiment with new "stunts" in scientific farming, and he reports that locust pods have proved very satisfactory, both when raked up and fed in the barn, and when left to lie for the animals to pick up for themselves.

#### FORCIBLE FEEDING OF PLANTS

Forcible feeding methods applied to plants, instead of to recalcitrant prisoners, promise to improve the quality of wheat, and incidentally to improve the price the farmer gets from the miller.

At the recent Chemical Exposition in New York there was an exhibit of the results of applying nitrate fertilizer to wheat fields, not at the conventional time just

before sowing, but much later in the season, when the grains are well into their formative period. The method was worked out by Dr. Jehiel Davidson of the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils of the United States Department of Agriculture. He applied 100 pounds of sodium nitrate per acre to wheat land when the crop was in the early stages of ripening. When the grain was harvested it was found that the protein content had been increased by 27 per cent. or more over that in grain from similar but untreated fields. Since a large proportion of this protein increase is in the form of gluten, the stuff that makes flour sticky and suitable for bread-making, millers are often willing to pay a premium amounting to about 30 cents on the bushel for this grade of wheat. At twenty bushels to the acre, this premium amounts to \$6 per acre. The cost of the fertilizer averages \$3 per acre, and the net profit to the farmer for adopting this new system of later fertilizer application therefore amounts to about \$3 per acre. Ordinary wheat naturally high in protein is generally shrunken, which detracts from its value, while the wheat obtained by the new method is just as plump as normal wheat. Baking tests carried out by Dr. Davidson, together with J. H. Shollenberger of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, have shown that the high protein wheat obtained in the new way yields bread of superior qualities. It is thought not unlikely that the housewife may be willing to pay a premium on flour yielding a better bread.

#### SYNTHETIC MUSK

In the not too distant future it is predicted that the fragrance of musk, regarded from the days of the ancient Persians as worth many times its weight in gold, will be available for the woman of modest means. For centuries musk has been one of the most highly prized perfumes. Its sole source has been the male musk deer, a diminutive animal inhabiting the upper reaches of the Himalayas. The musk procured from the deer is worth its weight in gold, selling for \$20 an ounce. But now a synthetic musk is available, thanks to the researches and experiments of European chemists. Walbaum and others showed a number of years ago that the chief odor constituent of musk was probably a ketone to which the name of muskone was given, and that it was closely related to the chief odor constituent of civet, which was called similarly civetone. From this earlier work

Ruszicka and his associates have recently completed the synthesis of an organic compound, exaltone, which is either identical with muskone or very closely related to it. It has the powerful musklike odor characteristic of that substance. This compound is built up from simple substances and actually could, if necessary, be synthesized from the elements themselves by a series of careful and painstaking reactions. It is difficult to prepare and at present sells for \$300 an ounce. Yet, representing as it does the pure, powerful odor of musk, it is used by practical perfumers today in many blends.

#### TREATMENT OF PERNICIOUS ANEMIA

The announcement of the preliminary conquest of one of mankind's hitherto "hopeless" diseases was recently made. Sufferers from pernicious anemia when fed liver regenerated their red blood corpuscles and started on the road toward better health. Now experiments at the University of Rochester Medical School by Dr. G. H. Whipple and Dr. F. S. Robschey-Robbins indicate that, although liver and kidney are by far the most potent food materials for the regeneration of the red blood corpuscles, certain other animal organs and several fruits are also effective, and hence can be used to vary the diet of anemia. The long debated question in medicine is whether iron must be in organic combination before it can be utilized by the body in regenerating the iron-containing hemoglobin, or whether a simple inorganic salt of iron, such as ferrous carbonate, will suffice. Apparently the form of iron and the quantity in which it occurs are not the deciding factors. Beef kidney contains three times as much iron as does beef liver, but the latter is far more effective in blood regeneration. Raspberries contain more iron than do apricots and peaches, but are inert in blood regeneration. There is certain evidence that some unknown substance is supplied by the effective foods and that it enables the body to utilize the iron. This is comparable to the use of vitamin D by the body for calcium deposition in the bones. Apricots, peaches and prunes are about as effective as bone marrow, pancreas and spleen, the Rochester investigators have found. The dried fruits are as effective as the fresh. Raisins, grapes and apples are in a lower class, but are about on a par with brain tissue. All these fruits are far superior to dairy products for this particular purpose.

# "Somewhere in France"— Nine Years After

## *Impressions of Famous War Correspondents On Revisiting the American Battlefields*

*Four War Correspondents of The New York Times, Sir Philip Gibbs, Edwin L. James, Wythe Williams and Walter Duranty, whose brilliant cables during the war are historic documents, cabled to that newspaper their impressions on revisiting the battlefields of the American Expeditionary Force during the pilgrimage of the American Legion to France in September, 1927. CURRENT HISTORY is permitted to reproduce them herewith by special arrangement.*

### I.—AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIED VICTORY

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS

PARIS, Sept. 19, 1927.—America has gained another victory in France. It is a victory of good-will, good humor and democratic comradeship. It has wiped out every trace of that moral friction which for some time did overshadow French minds because the United States seemed so lucky when Europe was staggering up from ruin; so rich when French money was going bad. Now all Paris is saying these Americans are "bons garçons" who have come far to renew their comradeship. "It is perhaps we who began to forget their magnificent service to France when we were getting exhausted and hard pressed." So I have heard French people speaking among themselves, after watching the American Legion march down the Champs Elysées today.

That procession has done much also to relieve French minds of the secret fear, shared by myself as I must confess, that the invasion of American Legionnaires might revive the spirit of militarism and be some strident glorification of the war, which, in spite of victory, is tragic and terrible in its remembrance. But that thought became utterly ridiculous as one watched the American Legion pass with its bands and flags. No passionate pacifist standing on the sidewalk would have revolted in spirit against this pageant. It was a carnival of comradeship rather than a military parade. There was no grim war spirit about those battalions of civilians, in service caps above their ordinary clothes, some of them carrying umbrellas or walking sticks, many of them marching out of step, most of them laughing, waving hands at the vast crowd cheering them.

Parisians, more than most people, love processions and pageantry, and, as a na-

tional holiday had been declared, they had massed densely along the line of the route. Every window and balcony was crowded and all Paris was hung with flags. The way was guarded by French soldiers in what seemed an endless line of blue. The American Legion was led forward by the Mounted Cuirassiers of the Garde Republicaine, who always give one an emotional thrill by their noble dignity.

To me the procession which followed was representative of the American character and spirit—not grim, aggressive or haughty with pride, but democratic, humorous and free-hearted. Paris loved every moment of it, I am certain. Here was the America of their imagination. Here was the spirit of the New World. The bands that headed the State contingents were in uniforms which never had been seen in Europe. Florida was in flame yellow and Illinois was in black and white with a drum major all in white wearing a high white shako. The band of West Virginia had red jackets and white breeches. Maine had green jackets. California was in white with red jackets and Spanish sashes. They marched magnificently as they played the old war songs and regimental tunes.

The French imagination was most stirred by the typical characters of American life as they are seen in the movies. They were vastly excited by the red Indians in full war paint from Oklahoma. They shouted "Tom Mix" at the cowboys from Texas. They cheered several small American citizens, aged six or seven, who carried the Stars and Stripes with long strides and solemn spirits. They were astounded by the heroic drum major from Boston who played magic tricks with his baton, tossing



it high in the air and twirling it with incredible dexterity. Best of all, perhaps, they were delighted with the Statue of Liberty, who had stepped down from her pedestal and was waving her torch at the French crowds.

That official march past was only a more orderly form of the continual procession of American Legionnaires which surges in an endless tide through Paris. It is in a carnival spirit after Sunday's solemn visits to the churches and cemeteries. It is hard to think back to war scenes and to death or tragedy when one is surrounded by these groups of young Americans who have come to enjoy life as Paris offers it with an open heart. Yet, once or twice, old memories stirred in me today and gave significance to this astounding visit. I remember the day after America entered the war. I was under Vimy Ridge among masses of German prisoners who had just been captured. I spoke to a German officer and said: "Do you know that America has entered the war?" He shrugged his shoulders and said: "They have no army and America is far away. They will never come to France." But they came in millions. And the first day I saw them I was standing in a field of the place called Agincourt. An old battle had been fought there by English archers when Harry was King, before America had been discovered.

Suddenly I saw American troops, battalion after battalion, tall, fresh, splendid, un-

touched as yet by war's agony. An English officer, standing by my side, spoke words which I have never forgotten, as they were prophetic: "This is the most astounding thing in history. The New World comes back to the Old World and the Atlantic has become a bridge." After that I saw the tides of American youth surging along the old roads of the war, and now in Paris I wonder if the faces I see about the streets were those same faces I saw under steel hats, powdered with the dust of French roads, wet with sweat, grim and tired after long marches, haggard as I saw them in the German trenches among their dead up by Bellincourt and Belle Eglise.

I am certain that the American Legion now in Paris will not revive the spirit of militarism or national hatreds. I see their mission here as one more crossing of that bridge which does not divide America from Europe, but links up our human family in sympathy and friendship and moral cooperation in the essential progress toward a better chance of peace for at least some time ahead. France knows now and once again that, apart from petty differences and the squalid arithmetic of trade, the heart of America as represented by this Legion is strong in friendship and good-will. That is the big meaning behind the carnival spirit and behind that pilgrimage to graves of those American soldiers who will not see the illuminations in Paris tonight nor walk among its laughing crowds.

## II.—THE FIGHTING ON THE SOMME

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS

ON THE OLD SOMME FRONT, Sept. 20, 1927.—This morning the American Legionnaires made expeditions to many battlefields forever sacred in American history because of the valor and victories of their troops and because of the dead who lie close to where they fell on French soil. Most of them went to the old sectors where the American Army was most heavily engaged—Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, Ste. Mennehoule and St. Mihiel. But there were some groups who came northward by way of Amiens and across the old Somme battlefield to the country which was most familiar to me in the time of war and where I first saw American troops in action fighting side by side with British divisions.

Today there are few traces of that scourge of war which once ravaged this line front. It is hard for the American pilgrims to imagine that endless desolation, littered with ruin and wreckage, of the infernal battle which for four years swept backward and forward across this soil of France. Trenches have disappeared. Villages have been rebuilt. A harvest has ripened where once this ground was strewn with death. American men and women drove today along roads where not much more than ten years ago no man could show his head above the earth and remain alive. The truth is that only by imagination and remembrance can one summon up those pictures of what happened in the fields when masses of men lay in the ditches of death under frightful shellfire and fought for every yard of earth under

bombardment by heavy artillery and through the deadly sweep of machine-gun bullets. These American mothers, these girls of the Y. W. C. A. and the American Red Cross, stared about them with reverent eyes, knowing that they stood on historic ground; but not for them was there actual vision of war's abominable drama. Only here and there some quiet fellow stood alone, thinking of old ghosts.

I remember the first time I ever saw Americans on these Somme battlefields. It was in November, 1917, before the American Army had come into action. The Germans had made a surprise attack and had captured the village of Gouzeaucourt. I happened to be walking that way, and I narrowly escaped capture before I was aware of the enemy's position. A bunch of engineers shouted to me, and I found they were Americans, who were working on a light railway. They explained the situation, while German field guns dropped shells uncomfortably close. "I guess I had a close call," said one of them from St. Louis, and he told me he had seen the enemy advancing quite close and was only aware of his danger when a shell burst quite near him and killed an English Tommy by his side. One of his comrades, who came from Tennessee, a tall, lean, swarthy fellow, picked up a petrol tin and put it on his head as a German airplane flew low, using a machine gun. "It's better than nothing as a steel hat," he said, laughing loudly at his little joke. "This ain't in our contract," said one of the American en-

gineers, but that afternoon he and his comrades went outside their contract. They borrowed English rifles and joined a battalion of English Guards, whom I saw marching up to counter-attack, munching apples as they came. That bunch of American engineers, among whom were some New Yorkers, helped retake Gouzeaucourt that day and had some casualties. They were the first American troops to fight in France.

Old memories came surging up in my mind today, but I seemed a ghost among ghosts, and those days of war seem now far back in history, belonging to some other life. This thought was in the mind of one man of the American Legion, who spoke to me in Paris. "I cannot believe," he said, "that I once wore a steel hat and led my bunch over German trenches. It was some other fellow who was once me." And yet I remember as though it were yesterday that great battle in which the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth American Divisions, from New York State and Tennessee, with North and South Carolina, attacked the Hindenburg Line, with Australian and English troops, between Bellincourt and Belle Eglise. It was a Sunday morning in September, 1918. There was a white fog, so dense that one could not see a gun team ahead. I stood as though blindfolded in this mist, listening to the terrific gunfire. The British troops had to attack across a canal with rafts and lifebelts, but the Americans, higher up, had to advance over dry ground, under which the enemy had driven deep tunnels, in which their battalions were safe from shellfire. They had large numbers of machine gun emplacements, from which they could sweep our lines, and they believed their position impregnable. The dense mist favored the Americans and the British. They stormed the German positions, smashed through the Hindenburg Line and routed out the machine gun nests before the enemy artillery could find their range. Those men from New York and their comrades from Tennessee and the Carolinas swept far beyond their objective. They went much too far for caution, and when the fog lifted they were beyond the support of our guns. I saw them bringing back bunches of German prisoners and their own wounded. It was their first battle, but they looked strangely unemotional and had the grim, hard look of veterans beneath their masks of white mud and chalk. The English and Australian troops cheered their walking wounded and shouted, "Well done, Yanks!"

It was all too grim a business for an exchange of compliments. To tell the truth, those American units who had gone ahead as though they wished to reach Berlin that night were in grave danger of being cut off forever. They had not stayed long enough to clean up behind them. Those German tunnels were still crowded with men who had not surrendered and who now came up with their machine guns. The Americans found themselves between two fires, but without losing their nerve, in spite of heavy casualties, they held on to their forward positions until their American comrades in reserve, with the Australians and the English, mopped up those tunnels and linked up with them. I went down those tunnels and I sicken still at the awful sights in those dark passageways. A German gun had exploded in one of them, blowing many men to bits, and dead bodies lay in heaps. In little American towns and great American cities there are men who, when they read these lines, will have in their nostrils again that terrible stench of death which came reaching out of Bellincourt and will remember what things they saw when their flashlights shone into those deep tunnels as their steel hats knocked against low beams overhead. But among the members of the American Legion in France I don't think there are many who even remember that name of Bellincourt, which has been overshadowed by Chateau-Thierry and other more famous battlefields.

Who cares now? Who remembers? I must confess that in spite of this visit of the American Legion to France reviving many of those memories, I see no use in lingering over those days of abomination, unless by remembering, men of all nations pledge themselves anew to prevent any repetition of that sacrifice of manhood by all possible means of reconciliation and common sense. Last night in hundreds of cafés American Legionnaires shouted "Vive la France!" Their laughter, their songs, their spirit of the campus made a mockery of the international intrigue, the sinister jealousies, the grim apprehensions of war which still lurk in Europe. How much better to laugh at life, to clink glasses, to shout "Never heard of it," when some one mentions hate or war and tries to rally up youth for some new massacre in old fields of slaughter! That's what this visit of the American Legion means to me. And I hope to God it's true.

### III.—MEMORIES OF MONTFAUCON

By EDWIN L. JAMES

**M**ONTFAUCON, Sept. 21, 1927.—The ruins of Montfaucon lie sombre and sorry in the rays of a late afternoon sun which throws into harmonious relief the glancing green of the moss-covered flagstones and the brown of the new undergrowth touched by the finger of early Fall. Three people live in Montfaucon now where 1,100 lived before the World War came. Onto the scene of these ruins came today in many motor cars several hundred Americans, representing the nation into whose mil-

itary history the capture of this far-away village of Montfaucon has been written as one of the brightest chapters. They wandered among its ruins, which are as complete as the ruins of Pompeii, and it seemed hard to realize that those ruins were only ten years ago a beautiful town which dominated the western heights of the Meuse Valley just as Douaumont Hill dominates the east. Man's genius has mended many wounds along the old front, but nothing can be done for Montfaucon. France has left

it as it was nine years ago, when for the last time, the hymn of hate was heard along the world's greatest battle-line. Of Montfaucon only a memory is left. But what a memory! What memories are in its stones for all Americans! It is now just nine years since American troops, many of whom had never seen a battle before, captured Montfaucon from the German invaders and won one of the hardest fought struggles of the great war. It was a week later than today, Sept. 27, to be exact, that the Fifth Corps of the First American Army chewed its way first to the left and then to the right and finally pinched out this sore thumb, as it was called. When they had done it they found out how sore it had been. The second night the Americans held Montfaucon I spent with a regimental commander in one of the deep dugouts for which the Germans were famous, and I shall never forget how the impact of the heavy enemy shells made the roof ring like a bell. I remember noticing next morning that several of the houses which had been there the evening before were missing. The Germans continued all day pouring shells into the village, which was the finest target in the region.

Many of those several hundred Americans who came here today seemed surprised that the ruins have been left as they were. They had expected to find the town rebuilt, as most of the others have been, and the new town which has sprung up in the southwest corner of the hill did not dim their surprise. Those ruins and this new town meant more to them than all the grandeur of Verdun and the majesty of Douaumont, for this corner of the front is American. As the day drew toward its close I stood there on the slope of the Montfaucon Hill and tried to remake the scene I saw about the same time on that other September afternoon in 1918. Those scrubby woods over to the south were that day filled with cannon spitting their angry messages toward the enemy. There were some tall, majestic trees which were being felled feverishly by doughboys. There were rows of batteries of 75s, and behind them batteries of 150s, with their deeper note sounding above the angry one of the lighter guns. Now where those trees stood that day, there are stark black stumps holding their heads above the new growth, which yearly rises a little higher, until in time nature will hide those ugly wrecks.

On that day one could hear American shells screaming north. They went with an ascending note, growing shriller as they left the guns, and back came the German shells, with a descending scream. Some of them hit the hill of Montfaucon and others went on into that wood where the American artillery was so hard at work behind the guns and where sapper battalions were mopping up the ground over which the advance was being made. There was Esmes, which has grown up again now. There was Melancourt, out of the stones of which American engineers made the roads over which the guns had traveled. On the right, east of Esmes, was Hill 304, the capture of which marked the first big victory in the Argonne offensive. All that day and for the follow-

ing days the American lines were pounded and pounded by German fire. There was at least one hurried but successful rush to meet the Germans' counter-attack from their position at Nantillois, only four kilometers north. The Germans had planned to drive into Montfaucon the next time. From the observation tower which the Crown Prince had built to look south we were looking north. One could make out the distinct geometric lines of the barrage which came from the guns behind us preparing the way for the advance of the infantry.

At one moment brave German airmen in dark-colored planes brought down three of our observation balloons. There were half a dozen air fights in progress at this one time, and never can one forget the ambulances which came swinging back and forward between the infantry lines and the first aid stations behind the guns. To make that trip those ambulances had to climb the winding road which went up the north side of the hill in plain view of the enemy artillery. The next morning the Americans captured Romagne and the road running east, on which lies today the cemetery in which 25,000 of America's boys sleep. It was on the same sort of sunny afternoon as today that four new regiments of infantry marched across the side of the hill to replace those who had fought the fight America had won. Yet that day's fight was only the beginning of the soul-trying struggle of many weeks between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse which lasted almost until the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, when Germany cried "Enough!"

It was good that the American delegation, after seeing Verdun, saw the Argonne today. Among them were many who came here for the first time and realized for the first time just what a great struggle their comrades had been through and what the war meant to them. They could not find anywhere a better example of the wreck the war god can make than in this stretch of ground between the Argonne and the Meuse, which has not yet recovered anything like its normal aspect. All the way up to Romagne it is still mostly deserted. The grass has grown, but it has not yet marked out the old shell holes. There remain more wrecked houses than mended ones. Shells still lie by the roadside, and one does not have to walk far to pick up a rusted helmet, a part of a gun or a cartridge belt. The war is still a reality in Montfaucon and its neighborhood, and that is why this visit should prove a lesson to Americans who think quickly and shortly—quickly, as all young people do. Until today many of those who visited Montfaucon had classed the war as ancient history, something to be forgotten and not to be worried about any more. But once they saw, there were serious looks on the faces of the lads who have been spending their time in Paris singing cognac choruses. They saw the war was not over for France, and also they saw why, unlike America, France thinks other wars may come. They saw all the ugly marks of war. They saw where thousands of their fellow-countrymen died, and at least they got some idea of how they died. They saw death still stalking among the ruins of Montfaucon.



# IV.—THE LIBERATION OF ST. MIHIEL

By EDWIN L. JAMES

ST. MIHIEL, France, Sept. 22, 1927.—Nine years and ten days ago the First American Army, in its first great effort in the World War, pinched in the two sides of the St. Mihiel salient, freed 200 square miles of French territory and liberated this little Meuse city which for four years had been in the invaders' hands. Today representatives of that army came back to St. Mihiel to receive the enthusiastic gratitude of all its inhabitants. Today doughboys came on flag-bedecked trains, in big sightseeing cars, and all other sorts of automobiles. How different was the entry of some handfuls of them nine years ago on the afternoon of Sept. 12! At General Pershing's request, French troops had been assigned actually to occupy St. Mihiel, and the American detachments who went there were those who had completed their task of marching from two sides in the great pinchers which closed above the city, through tons of barbed wire, over steel and concrete barriers, through shell holes and over roads exploded by the Germans before they withdrew. There were practically no untouched buildings then. The people lived in cellars and poured forth to greet their deliverers. Today the town is three-fourths rebuilt. The trenches have gone and roads have been rebuilt and bridges mended. Life is moving smoothly, and even if on two sides of the little city stark walls raise their unroofed heads as a souvenir of evil days, one gained the impression that in a few short years it would be whole again.

I remember that American soldiers who went into St. Mihiel nine years ago stopped dumfounded before the most magnificent military cemetery they had ever seen. It lay just north of the city on the Vigneulles road. It was the burial place of distinguished Germans who lost their lives during the four years the Germans lived in vain in the salient. Today it is still there, and on the former doughboys who visited it it made the same impression as upon them and their comrades when they first discovered it. A sight of St. Mihiel and a visit through the salient made it hard to realize that almost a decade has passed since that memorable midnight in September, 1918, when 3,000 cannon grouped to the south in the salient and over on the west bank of the Meuse opened their mighty chorus in a four-hour preparation for the first undertaking of the First American Army. That was General Pershing's own show. He had fought against opposition, the full strength of which he has never revealed, to form the First American Army. He had borrowed French troops to add to his own 400,000 to get the 600,000 he thought he might need. He had borrowed guns he lacked and hundreds of airplanes to make up for those America had failed to send. It is true that Pershing's onslaught fell upon an enemy in retreat. It is true that most of the shells from those cannon that first day hit no Germans because the Germans were not there. But one must realize that the Germans left because they did not wish to fight Pershing's army. And even if the first day did resemble a parade

more than a battle, real fighting came on the second day, when the Germans found that they had miscalculated the distance to which they must withdraw. If we lost 7,000 men in the whole battle instead of 70,000, that was no discredit to the Americans, and there never was any justification for the saying that St. Mihiel was a sector "where the Americans relieved the Germans." Anyhow, there were some 10,000 Heinies who had to go for relief in what was for them a totally wrong direction.

In the woods to the north of St. Mihiel nature has bloomed out most of the marks of the fighting, but the towns retain their honored scars. Hattonchatel, where the tough New Englanders of the Twenty-sixth Division got across in less than twelve hours to meet the veteran First Division, still needs repairs. Thiaucourt, where rest most of the Americans killed in the drive against the salient, slowly but surely is recovering, while Jaulnay and St. Benoit are all but whole. As one looks back now one realizes what a fortunate event it was that in General Pershing's attack on the St. Mihiel salient it could be said on Sept. 15, three days after the attack was launched, that the threatening spearpoint no longer remained in German hands. That the Germans withdrew from most of the sector rather than resist has little to do with the final result, which would have been the same even had it cost more. What St. Mihiel did was to bring home to the Germans the dawning of the fact that America had a real army in France, and not only that, but one growing from day to day. But that is all over now. With the advance of the French frontier to the Rhine, St. Mihiel and its approaches, like those of Verdun, no longer have relative military importance. Yet St. Mihiel has had its day in history, and in its story the American chapter is not the least important. All around about the little city are American monuments and marks of many kinds left by the American troops. And the name of the city must ever remain attached to the first big independent accomplishment of the American Expeditionary Forces.

St. Mihiel showed by its reception of the Legionnaires today that it is proud to stand in American esteem as the place where the First American Army made good. Premier Poincaré, whose own home at Sampigny, six miles south of here, was freed from the threat of capture when the First American Army liberated St. Mihiel, today welcomed here the delegations of the Legion come to visit the scene of General Pershing's triumph in France. The Premier told the visitors that no town in France was better entitled than St. Mihiel to receive a visit from the Legion delegates. Telling of his sorrow when St. Mihiel was captured by the Germans in 1914, M. Poincaré reviewed the events of its life up until the afternoon of Sept. 13, when General Pershing and General Pétain rode side by side through the streets of the liberated town. The Premier then told how, when it became plain that the Germans intended to withdraw behind

the Hindenburg line, Pershing moved up his attack two days. Then the Premier named in the order of battle all the troops engaged, and, praising the spirit of the American attack on Sept. 11, mentioned that 14,000 prisoners, 465 cannons and 750 machine guns were captured on that first day. Then he

told how, on the 14th, he had visited St. Mihiel to greet his personal friends who had been behind the German lines for four years. "Those who have passed through such moments together," he said, "are better able to realize the unbreakable ties which bind our two countries to each other."

## V.—MONT SEC AND VICINITY

By EDWIN L. JAMES

**M**ONT SEC, Sept. 23, 1927.—Those Americans who, in the first part of 1918, while General Pershing was waiting for the arrival of troops from America, held a slice of the front on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient, will never forget Mont Sec. The big events of the latter half of the year blotted it and its environs from importance; but in the muddy waiting of the cold Winter and Spring when the First Division and then the Twenty-sixth (Yankee) Division occupied the line up north of Menil-la-Tour, running just the other side of Beaumont and Seicheprey, Mont Sec was something of moment. Every supply train that went up Dead Man's Curve, every movement in Mandres, in Ansauville and Flirey could be seen by the German observers on top of that big hill from which the enemy artillery fire was directed. It was the *bête noire* of the Americans in those first days. It stood as a monument of the German strength, as something which loomed then, representing what seemed to be the mighty task of driving the Germans back where they came from.

Today I climbed the 250 meters to the top of Mont Sec. Standing atop it, I realized that beneath was the honeycomb of subterranean works which once held 5,000 troops. Over on the north side there was the moving picture theatre which the Germans had built during the four years they had held it. The French have dynamited the entrance, but the tons of earth that slid into the entrance left uncovered the big iron cross in cement which marked the big door. Scattered about the crest of the hill are deep holes which look like wells. They were shafts up which the German observers mounted from the bowels of Mont Sec to spy on the American troops. There, down at the bottom of the north side, are the rows and rows of the gun emplacements from which the cannon our men could not see shelled to the southward. Every now and then there is an immense depression where the roof of an underground chamber has given way. The whole south side is still potted with shell holes, marking the angry retort of the Americans to the menace which Mont Sec represented.

Nothing much has been done to Mont Sec since the war ended. Nature has covered with grass where only mud used to be, but man has left it alone. It never was worth much anyhow, the natives inform one, and with unexploded shells filling the ground, it is not worth bothering with now, they say. How pathetically the inane hill looks today compared with what Mont Sec meant in 1918. There is not even a road up its sides, the old German road having been blown so full of holes that it was not re-

stored. It is reported that Americans have a project to make it possible to see the top of the famed hill without the half hour's steep climb, which apparently none of the Legionnaires attempted. The American troops never had to undertake the formidable job of storming Mont Sec. In September, when the St. Mihiel battle started, the French troops moved under cover of the woods through Apremont and Joinville on the west, while the First Division, put back into the line where it first went in January, went in through the Bois de Mort Mare, on the east side of Mont Sec, until they pinched out Mont Sec. The Germans had left the day before and Mont Sec fell without a fight, its proud menace proving worthless when the test came. Several guns were captured, but the enemy had got most of them off their concrete bases in the few days preceding the Pershing attack.

Down at the bottom of the hill, on the east side, there rises now the reborn village of Mont Sec, with its new concrete church—which does no credit to its architect. A bent old man said that there were 160 inhabitants where there had been 300 before the war. In Loupmont and Apremont the same story was told. Gradually the villages are coming back, but now they have about only half the inhabitants of the pre-war period. It was striking how that percentage of 50 held in a dozen villages. Just about half the inhabitants had come back. In Seicheprey there were 80 inhabitants where there had been 150. There stands the bright new white church in the yard of which is the fountain built as a monument to the memory of the 102d Infantry.

In the field eastward from Seicheprey is to be found the most original war monument the Americans left in France. It records that the First Division held that sector from January to the 1st of April, 1918, and under that is the date of Sept. 12, 1918. The monument is about four feet high, made of concrete, into which are embedded two rifles, twenty .77 German shells and machine-gun clips, while it is topped off with a steel helmet half buried in the cement. Vandals have pulled pieces of it away, but in the main it stands as put there by the men of the First Division after they had seen the retreating Germans go out of sight over the hills to the north.

Beaumont, where there used to be a regimental headquarters, has come back about half way, but about half the ruins still remain. To the north of it remain half a hundred trenches which have not been filled up. Mandres is as ugly as ever, and all the manure piles are back in their old places. Only about half destroyed during the war, it has now been considerably mended. I noticed

that Ansaerville still has its mud—and probably it always will have it. Further down the road there stands Menil-la-Tour, once division headquarters and then the corps post of command. The old house which General Bullard used for his headquarters now has a new red tower. It looked dismal and deserted when one recalled what a

lively place it was in 1918. Looking back northward from there, one could see Mont Sec, looking, from that distance, just about as it did nine years ago, when it seemed a tough proposition. Then it symbolized German military might. Today, therefore, perhaps it is right enough that it seems useless and forsaken—for the time being.

## VI.—THE BATTLE OF BELLEAU WOOD

By WYTHE WILLIAMS

CHATEAU THIERRY, Sept. 20, 1927.—"Now tell us all about this war and what they fought each other for," wrote the poet concerning the ancient exploits of a warrior duke. Today a blind man in the uniform of an officer of United States Marines voiced the same query while, guided by a Legionnaire buddy, he reviewed the gallant deeds of the Second Division ten years ago beneath the embattled ramparts built twelve centuries earlier by Charles Martel. From an American mother and a boy of 14 came the same demand, the one proudly checking her sobs, the other shouting gayly—in Belleau Wood; the cradle of victory, Foch called it, where in the offensive of liberation the United States inscribed her first great roll of dead. To Belleau Wood they came this bright September morning, those Legionnaires fresh from their triumphs of yesterday, when proudly they took the salute of all Paris and all France. In the quiet of dawn they slipped away—hundreds of them—into this tranquil valley of the Marne. It was fitting, so all said, that here they should come first before visiting the scenes of bigger operations and more spectacular struggles. For now that the cannon are silent, now that the battle smoke has drifted away on the winds of the past and history may be written more clearly, it is admitted that here was the beginning of the end; also that for such a climax the army of the United States was responsible.

"Vive l'Amérique! Our saviors have arrived!" was the cry that arose from bleeding Chateau Thierry when in June, 1918, from slow-moving, almost crawling, shapes that appeared on the south bank of the Marne emerged gradually that endless khaki line that represented the limitless war strength of America. "Vive l'Amérique! Our saviors have returned!" was the loyal greeting Chateau Thierry gave the Legionnaires this morning. All day long they came, not just those children of General Bundy of the marines, who were the first to stem the German tide, nor those of Clarence Edwards of the fighting Twenty-sixth. No, they came from all divisions, all posts, all States—and all young again—nearly all—to walk where they once had crawled up "Suicide Path" to fight that battle of cold steel. For Belleau Wood then meant just that—a battle of cold steel that only raw, inexperienced youth could have won. "That's my trench; that's where I got mine," an armless and prosperous merchant from New England said, and his enthusiasm was so great that his voice broke. A man with him carried five wreaths to hang above five crosses in that great field of death for five buddies blown up in the same trench where he alone survived. Over two hundred

in all are sleeping there—but these five were very special—and his voice broke, too.

"Dad, is that cannon American or German? Oh, gee!" came from the boy of 14 as he touched the monster reverently, almost lovingly. The mother remained in the motor car while one of the official guides tried to explain the action of the battle. "Don't," she pleaded finally. "It doesn't really matter—he's gone—I'm glad I came, but don't tell me any more. Yes, let's go down into the valley"—to the Valley of Crosses where she, too, carried a wreath. The boy of 14 dug industriously in the underbrush. Belleau has been preserved as it was, so many signs warn visitors against live shells. The guide shouted a warning to the boy. He had found a helmet—one of those tin hats of the Yanks—rusted and gashed and horrible, for inside the guide pointed out fragments of human hair. But the boy thought it wonderful and wanted it. The guide explained that it was better to let such souvenirs lie. Shoes, he said, were everywhere about—embedded in the mud and lying clear. Thick, weather-resisting boots they had been, worn by laughing, high-spirited, valorous youth out on a great adventure. But it was better not to look inside the shoes, the guide further explained—just better not to touch them—so many still contained bones. "Well, look if you want to"—and of course the boy did—and dropped the boot hastily.

The blind officer of the United States Marines arrived at the wood. He had come up in a private car from Chateau Thierry. He said quite a lot about this war and what they fought each other for. Yes, he, too, fought there. He crawled with his company over that broken woodland and the hills north of Champillon right to the south edge of the wood. He asked to be placed facing that position as he went on with his explanation, trying to trace it all out with a cane in the mud at his feet. Hidden machine gun nests were echeloned behind one another all about where we now stood. Their merciless fire caused tremendous losses, but the enemy was surprised by the dash of our attack just the same, so gave way. There were hand-to-hand conflicts and the cold steel of bayonets. Yes, he was put out early—lost his eyes, he explained, so that others might see. And he is proud and happy to be there today, in that cool, sweet Autumnal air of the forest where the clash of steel and rat-a-tat-tat of machine guns are only imaginary echoes, after all. So we go down to the cemetery—for the service.

Over beyond is the German cemetery. They lost heavily, too—14,000 in that particular bit of hell. There are only 4,000



crosses, though—black ones—so sinister, so dreadful, compared to our own of white. Only 4,000 crosses, yes, because the other 10,000 dead were unknown and were bundled into one tremendous tomb. There was no service, of course, in the German cemetery. There was that deplorable accident of birth which made them our enemies. We start to leave the wood, but pause to read an inscription on a large cross just erected by the Belleau Wood Association: "In Memory of Fifty Heroes of the United States

Army and Navy Whose Resting Places in This Wood Are Still Unknown." The boy of 14 spells it out slowly. Then some one reads it aloud to the blind man. We turn away. Ten years ago it was easier to explain than now—just what they fought each other for. But this is Legion week and no time for pessimism. A band is playing down in the town square, so we agreed with that poet who wrote about the warrior duke:

"Things like these have got to be  
In every famous victory."

## VII.—HIS SON'S GRAVE

By WYTHE WILLIAMS

CHAMERY, NEAR FERE EN TADRE-NOIS, ON THE ROAD TO RHEIMS, Sept. 22, 1927.—In all the official communiqués throughout the long years of the war, the name of this hamlet was mentioned but a single time. And a day later the name was forgotten, because the event which the communiqué recorded as having taken place "a mile or two away" was such that the whole world—even the opposing armies—stood for a moment at salute. That event was entirely American. Sincere as the momentous decision that the World War included the United States, and more purely dramatic than any thrilling climax upon any stage, this event recorded in laconic simplicity gave a clear, though fleeting, vision of an indomitable soul—the soul of America—a soul that had faith and would conquer. No price for glory, that intangible, fleeting phantom, but any price for the right and victory. The communiqué said only that a man had died. Just one man, and so far as his manhood was concerned, no more valuable, perhaps less so, than many. Except that he was a man fresh in the vigor of his twenty years, only his name mattered—his father's name.

But no name so great of any land had been yet enscrolled in the sacrifice to war. No word so truly grandiose had so reverberated around the world in that roll-call of death. In the pink dawn of a Summer morning, July 14, 1918, the eaglet took his flight. Below, above and all about him the mists were drifting as the curtain rose on the last act of the drama of the Marne. Foch, behind the scenes in the gray fogs that still hung low along the Champagne front, was waiting that psychological moment when, with the swiftness and smashing energy of a panther, he sent the legions of the Crown Prince reeling to such disaster that, while an imperial dynasty was destroyed, a planet was again permitted peacefully to revolve. But the enemy eagles also were aloft, circling and soaring and battling—still effectively. Three against one, and no quarter, naturally. There was no such word in the vocabulary of the war eagles. And so the eaglet fell within enemy lines. In a peaceful field he lay; in a gentle valley caressed by the low, enfolding hills. That night the enemy eagles came and buried him. Into the moonpath they marched and uplifted him—those broken bits—from the wreckage of his plane, and raised there a cross. Gallant enemies! But the eagles all were gallant. The next day in the official

communiqué of the Allies was merely the information that has been supplied by Germany.

Today we visited this grave of the lone warrior. It seemed fitting during this week of the Legion convention to make such a pilgrimage far from the well-ordered cemeteries where sleep in serried ranks our soldier dead. For we had talked with him the day before he died—in Paris, in a café where he shyly confided his ambition to prove worthily that he was his father's son. We came alone today, for the way is long and vaguely marked, and muddy. In village after village we asked our way, and the people stared and shrugged until we came very near to Chamery. Then they smiled and showed the path. "Ah, the young Lieutenant!" they said. "So very young, so very brave; the way is there. Oh, a mile or more over those meadows, and far off the road." We left our automobile and plodded on, an old man guiding us, with his boy, shotguns over their arms for a rabbit or partridge. Oozy, white, slimy was the mud of the Aisne Valley, through which we often had waded those years gone from the Marne to the Chemin des Dames. Over a brown hill we saw the grave, sheltered in a small thicket, surrounded by a low wooden fence. The old man and the boy wandered off on their own serious business. We stood at the grave alone. No flowers were there, for it is too far away. Pilgrims halt at Belleau or Suresnes and piously place their wreaths. Yet over there at the far corner is a crown of wax forget-me-nots and violets of beads. The broken, weatherbeaten inscription told us that his French comrades had placed it there as they were passing by on Bastille Day two years ago. We wondered if new flowers will come this Legion week, flowers with fresh, green leaves. It really is very far, and what's the use of keeping dust green?

In a small flag hole at the head of the grave stand two flags, tattered and stained by the rains and time; the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes, both so faded it is difficult to distinguish which is which. But all about this grave the grasses grow and wild flowers bloom, even in late September, and the birds sing and the bees hum, just as in that village where this lonely warrior went on his school vacations a few years before he died; just the same as birds sing and bees buzz everywhere. And war has gone with its panoply and glory, to become a mere memory quickened by the cross marking the

soldier's grave, particularly this grave of the lone warrior with his great name. A farmer clumped through the field, and with his knife scraped the mud off his boots and, beside us, leaned against the fence. "His father put that there," he said, pointing at the marble slab. "Yes, he did that, and we have hope in that inscription, and we pray."

We wondered, and leaning low, pushed the brambles aside from the marble slab. Then we better understood life's relative unimportance, as considered by this citizen of the Third French Republic. "He has outsoared the shadows of our night," this dead boy's father wrote, and beside this just his name—Quentin Roosevelt.

## VIII.—THE FOREST OF VILLERS-COTTERETS

By WALTER DURANTY

**FOREST OF VILLERS-COTTERETS,** Sept. 21, 1927.—Only the forest is not changed. Nine years ago, from these green, peaceful woods Foch launched the terrific offensive which meant the beginning of Germany's end. They told us—at French army headquarters—to be careful how we wrote our cables to America. The attack might not be successful. The war would last for a year or two. We must say nothing too optimistic. That was 9 A. M. Then around 11 o'clock there came a different message: "Along a wide front we have struck the enemy without artillery preparation and advanced five kilometers." Two hours later we were driving through this forest that I have revisited today. It was crashing with heavy guns—shattering noise on shattering noise. The road was choked with cars—great lorries loaded with shells, tanks, staff cars with men in brilliant uniforms and, meeting us, were the wounded. All that was best and bravest in America, Britain and France had been mustered there for this supreme effort. The First Division, the Second Division, its ranks refilled after the Belleau Wood slaughter; the French Twentieth from Lorraine, which had saved France at Verdun; British Highlanders and Northumbrians, and, as the spearhead, Mangin's Moroccans. Back their wounded stumbled through the green avenues of trees—khaki, kits and blue horizon—bleeding and weary, while heavy guns crashed overhead.

Today everything was peaceful and quiet. "It is so silent," said an ex-sergeant of the First Division sitting beside me. "They gave us no preliminary bombardment—just the fire of the tanks and a rolling barrage. They had machine gun nests everywhere but on our left. I met an Englishman somewhere when we were lying in a cornfield and he said: 'Your people do go, by Jove! We tried to do this at Loos in 1915 and they shot us to pieces; but you Americans have rushed them right off their feet.'" That American fury of attack—they were too young and inexperienced to know what they were facing, and they carried the British

veterans and Lorrainers and Moroccans with them—changed then and there the fate of the great war which had been hanging in the balance. But today it was all so silent. There was no crash of artillery, there were no tanks, no lorries, nor wounded limping with bloody bandages. Only the trees were the same—the same screen of forest behind which Foch hid those superb troops, those tanks and those heavy guns to smash Germany unawares. My First Division friend beside me straightened up as we passed the war's rich harvest, acres and acres of crosses neatly laid out, white for the Allies and black for the Germans. "Maybe they are lucky at that," he said. "I am selling leather goods wholesale in Chicago and—damn it—getting fat."

That is what we were seeking this afternoon in the quiet, green, peaceful forest—our youth that had left us. That is what the American Legion is seeking in France—hard days, dangerous days, mud and blood and lice and thirst and pain and hunger; yes, but youth also. We change and get old and fat, and sell leather, but there was no change in the green, peaceful trees above us. They had echoed to the roar of cannon; they had seen the wounded hobble painfully along; and today they made us terribly conscious of man's littleness in the face of nature. Here had been played the supreme drama of the greatest war in history. The flower of America, France and Britain—and Germany—had been marshaled here to the final sacrifice. Money had been lavished as freely as blood in these green groves to decide whether our idea of human freedom should stand or fall against Germany's harsh machine civilization. And now today everything was quiet. The silence among the green trees was no less shattering than those mighty guns. My leather salesman felt it. He caught me by the arm and said softly: "You know, I thought I was a hell of a fine guy when I was here before. We did beat them after all, didn't we? But does it matter much really? Do you think the trees care about it, anyway?"

## IX.—MEZY-SUR-MARNE AND JAULGONNE

By WALTER DURANTY

**MEZY-SUR-MARNE,** Sept. 23, 1927.—So sweet and neat this quiet village has become with its new red brick houses beside the sluggish green river murmuring drowsily along beneath the September sun! Nine years and two months ago I walked down the same road and stopped at the same corner a few hundred yards from the

stream. The French officer beside me pointed suddenly to the heights above Chateau-Thierry a few miles westward, where the American divisions were thrusting forward in the drive to Vesle. "Look, he's got him!" he cried excitedly as a dark speck swooped down on one of the American sausage balloons poised 800 meters above the trees. A

tiny flame no bigger than a man's hand leaped up from the balloon. The German plane curved around and up in victorious escape, surrounded by puffs of cottony smoke. The flame above the balloon widened into a holocaust and, like the opening of a flower the parachute of the balloon's occupant suddenly grew visible as it was wafted safely away from the death above.

We stood fixed in entranced interest, when an amazing bellow, coming, it seemed, from the bowels of the earth, startled us into activity. "Run, you damn fools! Run like hell!" In the war one learned to move without waiting to ask questions at a shout like that. As we fell headlong into a dugout a hail of machine gun bullets lashed the ground at our very heels. Unperceived, a German chasse plane had defied the "command of the air" then claimed by the Allies and dived down to 100 meters to "do a little rabbit hunting," as the French facetiously termed that sort of stimulus to marching infantry. "Don't you poor fish know enough not to go star-gazing 'round here?" was the blunt greeting of a burly American corporal to a captain of the French headquarters staff. "I've lost three men that way already this morning, and if they don't smash the bridge before evening it will be no fault of our airmen. They're never anywhere you want them."

"Look! There goes another!" as there came a whistling shriek from heaven and a hundred-pound air bomb burst thunderously a scant fifty meters from the bridge of boats spanning the Marne a quarter of a mile further along the road. That was the sweet, quiet village of Mezy at the end of July, 1918. Later, the American pursuit planes did clear the air overhead; the German artillery was in full retreat northward, and we crossed the river to drive westward along the shell-torn road into Jaulgonne, a hamlet of 200 souls which rests in my memory as the apogée of the war's horrors, more terrible even than Verdun or the bloody mud slopes of Passchendael. A German battalion had been cut off there a day or two previously by the American advance and annihilated by four French batteries, "easily and at leisure," as a French artilleryman told me. Jaulgonne's ruins were so full of blackened fragments of humanity, so impregnated with the foul stink of death, that our clothes had to be baked and disinfected when we returned to headquarters that night.

Today Jaulgonne, like Mezy, seems as remote from the war as Santa Barbara. The houses look newer than usual along the European countryside and the village is perhaps smaller than formerly. One local official told me that at least 30 per cent. of the former inhabitants of the Marne Valley had settled elsewhere, away from those memories of inferno. The ruins on the outskirts were concealed by lush grass and weeds that had been watered so abundantly with Ger-

man blood. At the river's edge a small boy about 12 years old sat fishing in a skiff attached to an old blackened timber. A few yards higher up the bank was a shallow green hollow, maybe thirty feet from lip to lip. Those beams were the remnant of one of the German bridges that had been thrown across the Marne in the last great onslaught of July 15, "der Kaiserschlacht," which raged from Chateau-Thierry to the western boundary of the Argonne forest, Ludendorff's supreme bid for victory. I had seen that cuplike hollow as a yawning crater where a French 12-inch shell had ripped a fleeing German battery to shreds of flesh and scraps of metal. The small boy probably preferred fishing, but was willing to be interested in my reminiscences. "Suppose I'd been sitting here when the shell landed," he asked brightly, "do you think it would have killed me?" I answered, "Maybe," adding the old *poilu* phrase, "if your name was written on it." And I thought of the 6-inch gun breech weighing a ton or more, partly wrapped in gory horse meat, which that shell had lightly tossed 200 yards uphill, and I shuddered less at the memory than at the fact that there could be a French child old enough to talk intelligently who had lived in the Marne Valley and yet took the war so lightly.

That is natural enough, of course. Man's recuperative power is as strong as inanimate nature's, or stronger. But this boy's elders must have seen something of the Jaulgonne shambles, must have memories burnt too deep for nature's easy oblivion of lush grass and weeds and new green saplings to cover the ruins and replace the war-riven woods. But no, life flows on like this placid Marne, whose waters care nothing for the grisly burden they then bore. New generations replace those that were shocked and sacrificed—new generations of soldiers; possibly new victims to a new and deadlier Moloch. If any one thinks the World War really ended war, let him travel with me eastward across the Rhine and the Vistula, over the Russian steppes and the Balkan valleys, where the age-old hatreds of race and creed are being spurred by the fresh rivalries of economics and industry, raw materials and finance. My little fishing boy told me he had been to Chateau-Thierry and had seen one of the American Legion's ceremonies there. He had got a big thrill from the uniforms and music and patriotic speeches. Perhaps he thought, as I heard a young Frenchwoman say to her husband after Monday's parade, "Enfin, I suppose this means the Americans will help us again in the next war." Remember well, you reader with small sons, that the French wits are keener than most, and the French soil and the French people suffered more than most. And you may forgive me my conclusion that the message of this smiling Marne today is a cry to the whole world, "Lest we forget."





# Journalistic Peace Commissions

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,  
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THE writer of this regular monthly article is a profound devotee of peace, whether international, interperiodical or interprofessional. Hence he is pained by certain militant utterances in the columns of CURRENT HISTORY for October. What would be the international effect if, for example, the King of Shotwell should use toward the President of the Republic of Hart the—say, unofficial—language that appears in the October number? To be sure, one feels an honest pride in being rated at a hundred per cent. by so distinguished a professor, even though it be a minus hundred. A long experience in correcting papers convinces the writer that it takes little less than genius to make “a major misstatement in every single paragraph.” Even the hardened author of a minus paper may take a little pride in mentioning to his CURRENT HISTORY classmates that he has been carefully read by so renowned and genial a writer and publicist as Professor Shotwell.

Due examination of the offending article in the October number brings the personal controversy down to very small dimensions. If it disturbs the eminent authority in international matters to be complimented as one of the authors of the Geneva Protocol, why did he take the lead in a draft embodying most of the main features of the later Geneva Protocol, which was duly sent out, and in considerable part incorporated in the document so precipitately voted by the Assembly of the League of Nations? Professor, allow a fellow at least 50 per cent. on his statement on that subject in the castigated article.

Another broad blue pencil mark has been drawn by the examiner under the words of the 100 per cent. culprit with reference to “the diplomacy of the late Secretary of State William J. Bryan, particularly his series of arbitration treaties from 1913 to 1915.” Would the professor raise the mark, say, 25 per cent., if it were pointed out that the Bryan treaties were supposed to be built upon previous arbitration treaties negotiated in the Administration of Roosevelt? What Bryan urged and apparently secured was an additional system of fact-finding commissions in which all parties were to

agree in advance to participate. The resultant treaties provided that:

Differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of July 29, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of the third parties.

It appears that twenty-five such treaties were negotiated, of which perhaps eleven or twelve are still in force. They had not the slightest effect on our attitude to the World War. What Roosevelt did protest against was any agreement to adjust by arbitration direct or by arbitral proceedings, “all differences hereafter arising between the high contracting parties.”

The writer submits that if these two alleged evidences of ignorance and fault-finding in the article so sharply criticized by Professor Shotwell were referred to an interprofessional commission, which would impartially go over the whole ground, he would at least get off with a mulct of damages *pro tanto*. Any such tribunal would certainly rule that as between Professor Hart and Professor Shotwell, beyond those two points, all the questions at issue are questions of the relative weight and force of the professional judgment of the two parties.

What are the issues upon which this difference of judgment has arisen? The first seems to be a feeling that to oppose or criticize any movement for international peace is an evidence of a preference for war. One of the main reasons why the League of Nations clearly has failed to receive the confidence of the world as a hopeful means of displacing war is the existence of a body of men and women to whom the term “League Addicts” might reasonably be applied. The League was skillfully organized. Woodrow Wilson had great ideas, and some of them found a lasting place in the Covenant. The personnel of the membership is distinguished. Its proceedings are dignified. Its services to the sciences of international law and in-

ternational relations are undeniable. Yet the natural tendency of the League and of its friends is to demand additional power to make significant decisions and enforce them on embittered nations, either now or in the future. An infatuation seems to adhere to the term "League of Nations." In fact, the proposed Draft Treaty tends to dim the lustre of the League by diverting attention from attempts to reach the desired end through the League. To that extent the new proposition, which undeniably bears the impress of Professor Shotwell's mind, is additional evidence that The Hague Court and the League of Nations and the World Court and investigations and reports and appeals to the better nature of nations cannot be depended upon to prevent wars, small or great.

Hence the "Draft of a Proposed General Treaty for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" recently issued by "The American Foundation, Incorporated, Maintaining the American Peace Award," is a distinct effort to create a fourth World Peace organization, alongside The Hague Court (twenty-eight years old, and not yet graduated), the World Court and the League of Nations. This new plan, guaranteed sound in wind and limb, is to operate either by recommending a complete settlement or by further reference to The Hague Court of Arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. This is in some ways an extension and in some ways an enlargement of the Bryan idea of commissions of inquiry. To quote the explanatory memorandum: "In summary, the treaty assumes that every dispute is susceptible of settlement by diplomatic methods, or by conciliation, or by arbitration, or by judicial settlement."

Here we come back to one of the statements in the offending article in the July number which aroused the ire of Professor Shotwell, namely, that there are causes of international disagreement, hatred and ultimate war which cannot be settled by arbitration preceding or succeeding commissions of inquiry or commissions of conciliation or decisions of The Hague Court or World Court. Take the instance of China at this moment. The European (though apparently not the American) point of view is that China as a nation has conceded to foreign Powers diplomatic, social and commercial privileges and status which none of those nations would ever allow to Chinese within their borders; that those concessions, founded on treaties made under duress nearly a hundred years ago, are still bind-

ing under international law. Is it likely that any genuine Government that could possibly be set up in China would ever accept the proposed general treaty, for the text of which Professor Shotwell does not disclaim considerable responsibility? The principle stated in that treaty is that:

The High Contracting Parties—in the event of becoming involved in a controversy which they have not been able to settle—will submit it for final settlement, under one of the three stipulated methods, or to an arbitration tribunal if they cannot agree upon one of the three methods. And if the nations concerned cannot reach an agreement to submit the question to The Hague Court or the World Court the following method of procedure shall be *obligatory*: The nations so concerned shall create an Arbitral Tribunal \* \* \* whose decision shall be accepted by the nations directly concerned as final and conclusive.

Here is where the two professors (both, we hope, candid and reasonable men) part company. A prime difficulty in the whole plan is that it ignores civil war. The late General Leonard Wood years ago pointed out what must have been the result of such a system of "shall" arbitration had it been in force in and since 1775. When enforced under the then existing public law, every decision would have inevitably gone against the United States Government with regard to every war fought by the United States. The American Revolution was contrary to the international precedents and principle of the time, and this was true also of the French War of 1799, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War (any arbitral tribunal of European publicists at that time would have decided against the North), and the Spanish War. As for the World War, had there been a League of Nations in 1914 it would probably have held that the attitude of the United States at least "wasn't cricket."

Likewise, the proposed treaty and many of the arguments of the "League Addicts" adopt a private interpretation of war. Article I of the treaty does speak of "the one case of necessity for national defense against an act of aggression," but in the back of the treaty's mind appears to lodge an idea that no Power that might ratify the treaty would ever itself become an aggressor. The defunct Geneva Protocol was wrecked in part because it tried to provide a way of "ear-marking" aggressors. It is not actionable, nor is it an evidence of a steely heart, to feel doubtful whether the elaborate and cumulative machinery of the treaty would dispose of the present menaces to the peace of the world. Would it

pacify the nationalistic struggles of China, or the Japanese grievance over the immigration laws of the United States? The impatience of the East Indians with their present government, or the bitter rivalries growing up between the European conquerors of Africa? The Near Eastern ambitions of Italy, or the inveterate hostilities of the Greek and Slav Powers in the Balkans? Or, particularly, the terrific latent force of Russia? Or, for the matter of that, the hostilities between Latin-American Powers and their rising resentment against their

great American neighbor? In none of these difficulties do the nations most concerned want arbitration. They want what they believe to be their rights.

The trouble with all the plans for a world peace through the medium of documents is that they can be made to work only with intelligent nations, reasonably satisfied nations, nations with a strong sense of the force of law. Unfortunately, more than half the world's population would rather fight than arbitrate on any serious question in which they are deeply concerned.

#### INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

## The New Plan to End "Aggressive" Warfare

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE September meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League, which opened in an atmosphere of gloom, ended in the sunlight of optimism. Neither attitude was, perhaps, entirely justified. The failure, during the past year, to make substantial progress toward disarmament, either through the recognized organs of the League or in the Three-Power Conference; the irritation of the smaller Powers on account of what they felt to be a growing habit of the larger Powers of deciding important questions in private conference rather than on the floor of the Assembly; the restiveness because of the failure of the League to attack and to solve weighty questions at issue—all had combined to create, even among many of the most sincere friends of the League, a profound feeling of discouragement. The results of the meetings gave them new courage, however. A formula was found which expressed the unanimous opinion in regard to the illegality of aggressive war, and agreement was reached as to a method of approach to disarmament. For the first time, the Assembly became a forum for debate rather than for speech-making. Plain words were used, and they were heard with respect and with tolerance. Divergent views were merged in common action.

The proceedings of the sessions of the Assembly from Sept. 5 to 9 were recorded in October *CURRENT HISTORY* and something was said of the Dutch proposal to revive the Protocol and of the Polish resolution

outlawing war. On Sept. 10, Briand delivered the second of his impassioned pleas for the establishment of peace. Divorced from his personality and read in cold type, its substance seems neither new nor particularly striking. Nevertheless, the "splendid vacuities" of his address, as they were irreverently, if truthfully, styled by the *New Statesman*, had a profound effect in creating an atmosphere of good will and of willingness to compromise. As Mr. Lowes Dickinson, speaking of the Assembly, said the other day, "That body cannot transact business, it can only concentrate emotion; and emotion, reverberating through the world, is the only driving force for great policies."

Sir Austen Chamberlain's address on the same day, while unfortunate in some of its phraseology, served, nevertheless, to clarify the discussion by making it quite evident that the British Empire would not go beyond Locarno in its guarantee of European boundaries; and that the Protocol, in its original form, could not be accepted. He did not, however, content himself with negative statements. In a few sentences, he placed his Government unequivocally on record in support of the League, as follows:

The League does not depend only on the parchments which we have signed. The League does not depend only on the sanctions which we may enforce. The League, the judgment of the League, is the judgment of the highest tribunal to which here on earth any nation can appeal to justify its action and of whose approval any nation will have infinite need in the moment of



trial and trouble. \*\*\* My Government bases its whole policy upon this League, because no country, however powerful even today, can disregard your moral judgment. \*\*\* We have accomplished much; we shall accomplish more. That which is not possible today may, as the peaceful atmosphere spreads, be attainable tomorrow.

For the next few days the Assembly sat in its several commissions, popular interest centring largely on the work of the Third Committee, which was charged with the study of disarmament. In some quarters the view was expressed that the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission should be postponed; but Count von Bernstorff voiced the general feeling that no further delay could be tolerated. The commission has become tangled in a web of its own weaving; and, in the present state of its report, "nobody can understand it, not even those in the commission." Louden, President of the Preparatory Commission, and Paul Boncour joined in insisting that arbitration, security and disarmament, the fundamental principles of the Protocol, must, in some manner, be united in any action taken, as the three are complementary and inseparable. M. Briand appeared before the committee on Sept. 14 to advocate the same view. He urged that if a definite

program were not ready before the next meeting of the Assembly a renewal of the armament race was almost inevitable. With Germany and France supporting the demand of the small nations for a restudy of the basic ideas of the Protocol, Sir Austen Chamberlain yielded gracefully and let it be known that if it could be so modified as to meet the objections of the Dominions he would no longer oppose it, and could certainly have no objection to any regional guarantees that might be arranged.

In the movement toward arbitration Dr. Nansen's suggestion, made at the same session, marked a long step in advance. He would extend the scope of the Optional Clause, attached to the statute of the Permanent Court, by a provision which would enable States desiring to do so to accept, as between themselves, compulsory arbitration in non-legal as well as in legal matters. In other words, they might adopt as their own the principles of Locarno. The Assembly gave its enthusiastic approval to the plan and referred it to the Legal Committee for drafting.

The French plan for the revival of the Protocol was presented by Paul Boncour on Sept. 16. It recommended the conclusion of further arbitration accords; the study by the Preparatory Commission, along with proposals for disarmament, of plans for assuring security, and the establishment of regional compacts. Since the delegates of the United States, at the last meeting of the Preparatory Commission, had made it clear that they could not join in any security accords, it was determined to create, alongside and subordinate to the Preparatory Commission, a new committee of members of the League which will attempt to develop a workable plan for arbitration and security. The United States is to be asked, however, if it will join in the work of this committee. After three days of further debate, the divergent views of the delegates were harmonized, and on Sept. 24 the resolution was passed.

On the same day, a modified version of the Polish resolution came up for final action and was adopted by a unanimous vote. After reciting that aggressive war could never serve as a means of settling international disputes, and that a renunciation of it would tend to create a spirit of mutual confidence and thus facilitate disarmament, it declared that all wars of aggression were and must remain forbidden; that pacific means must be found for settling international disputes; and, finally, that mem-



DISARMED

"Shall we take the umbrellas now?"

"There's no need; we have abolished rain."

—Pasquino, Turin

bers of the League were under obligation to conform to these principles.

Such resolutions as these mark milestones and not the end of the road. That stretches far ahead. They do show that some of the obstructions to traffic have been removed and that the roadmakers are determined to clear the remainder of the way. It will not be an easy task nor a short one. The members of the Assembly who passed these resolutions are in deadly earnest; and it must be remembered that they are not irresponsible enthusiasts. They are Ministers of State and governmental officials, very sensitive to public opinion at home and quite aware that they must not march far in advance of it. No doubt they were influenced by the fervid oratory of Briand, the stirring appeals of Stresemann, of Loudon and of de Brouckère; no doubt the splendid gesture of Germany, first of the great Powers in signing the arbitration agreement, had its effect; but behind them they felt the solid array of the men and women in whose memories the horrors and sufferings of the war were still vivid, and who unite in the cry—"Nie wieder Krieg."

The new measures are inadequate—yes; but such as they are, they could not have been passed even a year ago. True, they condemn only "aggressive" warfare, and no country will admit that it has ever fought a war of aggression. But they are evidence of the fact that the force of public opinion, of which Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke, arrayed in the League, has a power such as never before.

The overshadowing interest in disarmament made the other business of the Assembly seem insignificant. The opium question was discussed in a report by the Fifth Committee. Lord Lytton, representing India, said that, despite the efforts of the Government, the traffic in that country was at least thirty times its legitimate size. He advocated strongly control through a rigid supervision of the manufactories, of which there are only about thirty in the world. Colonel McCormack of Boston, technical adviser to the Persian Government, announced that, in the face of grave economic obstacles, Persia had agreed to curtail opium production and export 10 per cent. annually for three years, and India is doing the same. Reports were made on the progress of rehabilitation work in Armenia, in Greece and in Bulgaria; on the success that has attended the work of the Malaria Commission; on the Danzig and other loans, and on a dozen similar undertakings. It was decided, on Sept. 23, to



TELEVISION AT GENEVA  
—The Star, London

create an advisory body of men prominent in industry, commerce, agriculture, finance and transport to act with the League's Conference, which was to meet at Geneva on Oct. 17 to draw up a convention for abolishing import and export prohibitions and restrictions. Hugh Wilson, Minister to Switzerland, has been designated as the representative of the United States at this conference.

The meeting of the Council, contemporaneous with that of the Assembly, was devoted largely to routine business. The election of Canada, Cuba and Finland as non-permanent members was chiefly of interest because, for the first time, the British Empire has two seats; and negatively, because of the failure of Belgium to secure a declaration of re-eligibility. Hitherto she has occupied a somewhat privileged position, largely on sentimental grounds; but the Assembly felt that it was unwise to continue the precedent. The loss of Benès, representing Czechoslovakia, will be keenly felt. The new Council will consist, aside from the five permanent seats held by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany, of China, Colombia, Chile, Rumania, Poland, Holland, Canada, Cuba and Finland.

The only item of business on the agenda which created much excitement was the controversy between Hungary and Rumania over the application of the agrarian laws of the latter country to about 200 Hungarian citizens who held landed prop-

erty in that section of the former Kingdom of Hungary which was, by the Treaty of Trianon, joined to Rumania. The matter has been before the Council for some time and it was hoped that the report of a committee, of which Sir Austen Chamberlain was Chairman, would settle it. The committee held that the treaty did not give any special privileges to the Hungarian

optants; and that there should be no inequality between Hungarians and Rumanians in the application of the law. Count Apponyi, on behalf of Hungary, flatly refused to accept the award, and proposed to refer the whole matter to the World Court. In the hope of effecting a settlement, the subject was laid on the table until the December meeting.

## Activities of the League of Nations

By W. CURTIS BOK

SEPTEMBER, always the busiest month in the year for the League, saw the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Sessions of the Council and a most interesting and important decision handed down by the Permanent Court of International Justice. The representatives of forty-nine States members of the League, including twenty-two Ministers for Foreign Affairs, convened on Sept. 5 for the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly. The agenda comprised the reports on the work of the Council and the Secretariat and of all the conferences and committee meetings held during the past year, the fixing of the budget for 1928 and the election of three non-permanent members of the Council.

The Assembly opened with a general debate, to which reference has already been made. After the debates were concluded the Assembly referred its agenda to the six committees which it always sets up for the apportionment of its work. These committees are in themselves small Assemblies, each nation having the right to name one delegate to each. They deal, in their numerical order, with Constitutional and Legal Questions, Work of the Technical Organizations, Disarmament, Budget and Questions of Internal Administration, Social Questions and Political Questions. These committees consider all reports submitted to the Assembly by the various bodies of the League and, through a Rapporteur, make recommendations to the Assembly, where a final vote is taken.

During the closing days of the discussions the tide of opinion turned more toward disarmament, and to the Third Committee fell the task of reconciling it. The committee first adopted a resolution of the Polish delegate, reminiscent of the Out-

lawry of War proposals in the United States, declaring that "all wars of aggression" are prohibited and that the States shall use every pacific means to settle their disputes. It also recommended the further study of a plan proposed by Finland for financial assistance to States victims of aggression in connection with the clauses of the Covenant providing for sanctions against a defaulting nation. It then crystallized prevailing sentiment on the principles of the Geneva Protocol into a resolution sponsored by the German, French and Dutch delegates, by which security (including arbitration) and disarmament should be dealt with separately, but with due regard to their relationship with each other. The resolution called for three things: (1) the progressive extension of arbitration by means of particular or collective agreements, including those between States members and States non-members of the League; (2) the hastening of the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament and the convocation as soon as possible of the contemplated Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments; (3) the establishment by the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament of a subcommittee to consider the measures capable of affording all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments in an international agreement at the lowest figures. This action signifies the abandonment of attempts to find a new, dramatic and universal solution for the arms question. The emphasis has been shifted toward an effort to develop to their utmost efficacy the varied resources of the League's own machinery. The vicious circle of thought that arbitration, security and disarmament are inseparable has been bro-



ken, and the League is free to follow many paths until they converge into a natural agreement.

The Third Committee, while devoting most of its time to disarmament, recommended that an International Conference on the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and war materials be convoked as soon as possible.

The election of three non-permanent members of the Council was held on Sept. 15, as already described elsewhere in this magazine. The Assembly next found itself confronted with the pleasant duty of confirming the action of the Council in accepting an offer made from an American source to furnish funds up to \$2,000,000 for the construction and endowment of a League of Nations library should the League desire to accept outside funds. No conditions were attached to the offer, the donor merely assuming that the League would not reduce its annual allowances for the library item in its budget. After the Assembly had acted, with an expression of keen appreciation of the generosity and significance of the gift, the donor was revealed as being John D. Rockefeller Jr. The remainder of the Assembly's work was a review of the activities of all the League agencies since last September and the drafting of a program for the coming year. The Assembly adopted the resolution framed by its committees.

The First Committee decided that the First Conference for the Progressive Codification of International Law should be called by the League and held under its auspices at The Hague, probably in 1929. The preparatory work for this conference has been carried on for two years by a committee of which George W. Wickersham, President of the American Law Institute and former United States Attorney-General, is a member. Three subjects—nationality, territorial waters and the responsibility of States for damage done on their territory to the person or property of foreigners—are being prepared for the conference.

The Second Committee reported upon the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (including the establishment of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome as the result of an offer made by the Italian Government), of the Financial and Economic Committees of the League, of the Health Organization, of the Committees for the Settlement of Greek and Bulgarian refugees, of the Conference for the Creation of an International Relief Union, of the International Economic Con-

ference, of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, of the visit of the President of the Health Committee to South America, and of the Committee of Experts on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards. The committee made special provision for the expansion of the League's economic organization by the creation of a larger and more widely consultative committee.

The Fourth Committee adopted a budget of nearly \$5,000,000 for 1928. It also decided that the expenses of the Permanent Central Board to be set up in accordance with the Opium Convention of 1925 should be included. It further considered the question of unpaid contributions of certain members of the League and set up as an experiment an Administrative Tribunal to facilitate the internal management of the Secretariat.

The Fifth Committee dealt with the work of the League relating to the traffic in women and children, the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, the inquiry into the production of the opium poppy in Persia, child welfare, the protection of women and children in the Near East, measures to be taken in favor of Russian and Armenian refugees, and the establishment of the Opium Permanent Central Board.

The Sixth Committee considered mandates, the Slavery Convention of 1926 and a plan of procedure for the future election of Council members. It also noted the work of the International Conference of Press Experts and recommended that the proper organs of the League arrange for further progressive action in this field.

A Special Assembly Committee set up to examine the question of a new building for the League decided upon a construction figure of 19,500,000 Swiss francs and recommended the formation of a permanent committee with power to act. Plans for the building have already been submitted following a competition among architects.

#### THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE

The forty-sixth session of the Council opened on Sept. 1 for the transaction of the usual quarterly business. The Council approved the protocol submitted to the Greek Government whereby a further loan of £9,000,000 is authorized for the settlement of refugees. It then directed the League's Financial Committee and the Secretariat to inquire into a request from the Bulgarian Government for financial reconstruction. If the plan for this assistance is adopted, Bulgaria will be the sixth

country, including the Free City of Danzig, to receive financial resuscitation from the League since the war. The League has arranged the provision of nearly \$350,000,000 for such work in these countries needing assistance.

Representation in the permanent agencies of the League is becoming more and more universal from the standpoint of nationality. A German member, Dr. Kastl, was appointed by the Council to the Permanent Mandates Commission and Jeremiah Smith Jr. of Boston, who acted as the League's High Commissioner in the financial reconstruction of Hungary from 1924 to 1926, was appointed a member of the League's Financial Committee.

The Council was able to drop from its future agenda the details of the liquidation of the property of refugees exchanged under the emigration convention between Greece and Bulgaria. This incident at one time threatened to disturb the peace of Europe, but has now been settled satisfactorily.

The forty-seventh session of the Council, which opened on Sept. 17 with the newly elected members sitting, had before it the immensely difficult and important case of

Hungarian Optants, which is referred to elsewhere in this magazine. The remainder of the Council's work at its sessions was for the most part referred to the Assembly.

#### WORLD COURT DECISION

In early September the Permanent Court of International Justice handed down a decision in the case between France and Turkey arising out of a collision which occurred in 1926 between the French ship *Lotus* and the Turkish vessel *Boz-Kourt*. After the collision the *Lotus* made its way to Constantinople, where the Turkish authorities tried and imprisoned the French officer of the watch. France, claiming the imprisonment to be illegal, brought suit against Turkey, asking for damages. The main point in the case was whether the Turkish law conferring jurisdiction upon Turkish courts over offenses against Turkish nationals committed upon the high seas was valid. The Court being evenly divided, the President cast the deciding vote in favor of Turkey, so that the case stands for the rule that the laws of a nation may apply beyond its limits unless there is a rule of international law to oppose it.

#### THE UNITED STATES

## Plans for National Flood Relief and Control

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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**I**N a statement made public on Sept. 20, President Coolidge set at rest, once and for all, the rumors that had been in circulation for several months regarding the likelihood of an early session of Congress or the Senate before the regular meeting of the new Congress in December. The announcement followed a conference with Senator Curtis of Kansas and Representative Tilson of Connecticut, Republican floor leaders of the Senate and House respectively, both of whom were reported to have advised the President that there was no strong demand for an early session and that nothing of importance would be gained by having one. The principal argument in favor of an early session has been the need of legislation for flood relief and control, while an early meeting of the Senate had been urged in order to dispose of the contested election cases of William S. Vare,

Senator-elect from Pennsylvania, and Frank L. Smith, Senator-elect from Illinois, both Republicans. Mr. Coolidge was further influenced in his decision, it was said, by his belief that a session of Congress always involves some disturbance of business, and that it is better, in the absence of an emergency, to adhere to the regular constitutional routine.

With the question of an early session out of the way and the date of the regular session near at hand, political discussion has busied itself with the outlook for Federal legislation and the grooming of candidates for the next Presidential race. On one of the most pressing subjects of legislation, namely, flood control, it is expected that Congress will await the recommendations of the army engineers who have been studying the problem, and whose report will be laid before Congress early in December.

Some 150 engineers and other experts, it has been stated, are at work upon the various phases of the problem, including levees, spillways, reservoirs and other methods.

In the meantime Mr. Coolidge, on Sept. 19, assured the Tri-State Executive Flood Control Committee, composed of representative business men and others from Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, that legislation for national flood control would have his hearty support, and the War Department gave assurance that the recommendations of the engineers would include the appropriation of "such an amount as would be necessary to carry on the work as rapidly as consistent with economy of construction." The Investment Bankers Association of America, at its meeting in Seattle, put itself on record on Sept. 28 as favoring national control of the Mississippi problem. A variety of views regarding the way in which the situation should be treated were naturally to be found in the States particularly affected, but Senators and Representatives from those States were reported on Sept. 20 as strenuously opposed to saddling flood control legislation with other projects, such as the Boulder Canyon Dam and Muscle Shoals.

In an address on Oct. 3, before the annual convention of the American Red Cross at Washington, President Coolidge made public for the first time a number of facts regarding relief work in the flooded area. The flood broke through the levees at 226 places and submerged an area of about 20,000 square miles. About 250 persons lost their lives, all but about half a dozen in the first weeks of the flood, before relief work had been thoroughly organized. Of the \$17,000,000 Red Cross fund, enough remains to continue such relief as is still needed, and also to proceed with recon-

struction plans, "well beyond Jan. 1." In addition to the fund, about \$7,000,000 in money or supplies was also made available from other sources, some \$3,000,000 of the amount being credited to the railroads. A fleet of 1,000 boats, large and small, was mobilized, more than 600,000 refugees were aided, and a protective sanitary campaign was inaugurated in nineteen counties in seven States, to continue for eighteen months. With the assistance of the Red Cross, 1,622,000 acres out of a total crop area of about 4,500,000 acres have been replanted, over 100,000 families have been rehabilitated, and all except about 8 per cent. of the people affected "are able to provide for themselves."

"In my capacity as President of the United States and as head of the American Red Cross," Mr. Coolidge concluded, "I wish to extend the highest commendation and the thanks of the country to the members of the Cabinet, to all Government officials and employes, to the officers and staff of the Red Cross, to the thousands of volunteers, and to other persons and agencies for the unselfish contribution of time and substance to this great humanitarian work in the Mississippi Valley."

The Louisiana Legislature, at a special session early in September, adopted a constitutional amendment spreading over ten years the payment of 1927 taxes by owners of property damaged by the flood, and authorized an advance to parishes and other local units of money to the amount of their taxes. The amendment will be submitted to the voters for approval at the State election next April. A gift of \$100,000 by Pope Pius XI for the relief of flood sufferers, to be expended under the direction of the American Roman Catholic bishops, was announced on Sept. 22.

## TAXES AND THE TARIFF

HOPE of a reduction of Federal taxes, regarded by many as quite as important for the country as flood control, was somewhat strengthened by the report, on Sept. 16, that Mr. Coolidge still thought that a substantial decrease would be possible, notwithstanding enlarged appropriations for the army and navy. The amount of such reduction looked for by the Republicans has commonly been placed at \$300,000,000, while the Democrats have been credited with the hope of making the figure \$500,000,000. Mr. Coolidge was later represented as less confident of the extent to which taxes might be lowered, and as plan-

ning to urge upon Congress a conservative course in view of the fact that the \$635,000,000 of surplus at the end of the last fiscal year (June 30) was largely due to non-recurring items of receipts. He also took pains to emphasize the desirability of continuing, as fully as possible, the reduction of the debt. Hearings on the revenue bill before the Ways and Means Committee of the House were expected to begin on Oct. 31.

The difficulties in the way of tax revision have apparently been somewhat increased by the development of organized opposition in business and political circles to certain



features of the present law, and by uncertainty regarding the attitude of the insurgent Republicans in Congress. The automobile manufacturers of the United States, with the exception of Henry Ford, were reported on Sept. 9 as having united in an

higher surtax levies. Senator Nye was careful to state, however, that these suggestions were his own and not those of his insurgent colleagues.

The announcement, early in September, that American imports into France would henceforth be subject to a higher general scale of duties, in accordance with the most-favored-nation provisions of a commercial treaty between France and Germany signed on Aug. 17, brought loud protests from American business interests in France, evoked for the moment the spectre of a tariff war, and provided some ammunition for the Democrats, who still hope to make tariff revision a political issue in the next Congress and in the Presidential campaign. Official notes interchanged by the two Governments, withheld from publication at Washington until Oct. 3, indicated the purpose of the French Government to adhere to its new tariff unless the United States, which has no commercial treaty with France, was prepared to negotiate such a treaty on a basis of reciprocal concession, and an



France: "Pardon! This is no longer a one-way street."  
—The New York Times

attempt to force a repeal of the present tax on new automobiles. The next day a national conference of State Legislatures, organized at Washington by delegates representing thirty-seven States, launched a concerted drive to repeal the Federal estate tax, a demand in which the Legislatures of twenty-two States had already joined. On the same day Lewis E. Pierson, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, made public the tax program which the chamber proposed to urge upon Congress. The plan comprised the repeal of the corporation income tax, the Federal estate tax and war excise taxes on certain businesses, a simplification of the internal revenue administration and various other changes.

An intimation of the attitude of the insurgent Republicans was given by Senator Nye of North Dakota, who outlined on Sept. 19 a legislative program which embraced the passage, as first in importance, of a farm relief bill similar to the McNary-Haugen measure; second, legislation for flood control; and, third, the application of any remaining surplus to the reduction of the public debt, with no income tax reduction but with some increases in the



Folks who keep chickens themselves should not be so particular  
—The Philadelphia Inquirer

equally clear purpose on the part of the Administration to adhere, in the absence of Congressional action, to the principles and rates of the present Fordney-McCumber tariff. The controversy was still pending when this review was prepared.

## THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

THE informal campaign in behalf of the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York as the Democratic candidate for President received, during the month, several accessions of strength. On Sept. 15 William G. McAdoo, in a letter to the publisher of *The Chattanooga News*, announced that he would not be a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1928. His purpose in "stepping aside," Mr. McAdoo said, was to clear the field and avoid "a repetition of the inconclusive and disastrous fight in the New York convention of 1924," a recurrence of which would be "calamitous" and reduce the party to "impotence in a Presidential contest."

The withdrawal of Mr. McAdoo, hitherto regarded as perhaps the foremost political leader of the Democratic "drys," was followed on Sept. 23 by an endorsement of Governor Smith's candidacy by a conference of Democratic spokesmen at Ogden, Utah, representing eight Pacific Coast and

solid supporters of the McAdoo candidacy in 1924.

In a speech at Albany on Sept. 29, at a Democratic State convention called to nominate a candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, Governor Smith avoided



"SHOW ME A WET CANDIDATE"  
—The New York World

Rocky Mountain States. Following the nomination, which was reported to have been voted only after somewhat heated debate, the conference agreed unanimously to form the "Al Smith for President Association of the Rocky Mountain-Pacific States." The States represented were, in the main,



WHAT ARDENT LOVERS!  
—The New York Herald Tribune

any reference to the Presidential contest and confined himself to a discussion of State matters, including a defense of his Administration against the charge of extravagance. The next day, however, Theodore Roosevelt, son of the late President and former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, startled the Republican State Convention at Albany by a "keynote" speech bitterly attacking Governor Smith. "For the first time in the history of the nation," he declared, "the shadow of Tammany Hall lies athwart the White House. The Democratic organization in Albany is an annex of Tammany and an apt student of Tammany methods. There the lid has blown off. Gambling and all manner of vice and corruption are being exposed. The red light district has crawled to the very steps of the State Capitol. Tammany always was and always will be the same sinister Tammany." In both Republican and Democratic circles

the opinion was expressed that the speech would prove to be a boomerang and would be more likely to help rather than retard the Smith boom.

Open discussion of Republican candidates has apparently been retarded by an appreciable undercurrent of hope that Mr. Coolidge, in spite of his announcement at Rapid City, might after all be persuaded to run. An attempt to connect Secretary Mellon with the proposal of Charles E. Hughes as a candidate was met by the statement, on

Sept. 14, that Mr. Mellon had not yet decided whom he would support. A meeting of a number of members of the Republican National Committee at Washington, on Oct. 3, ostensibly to fix a date for the December meeting of the committee, at which the date and place of the national convention should be decided, was reported to have had no formal connection with a possible Coolidge candidacy. The date chosen for the committee meeting was Dec. 6, the day following the opening of Congress.

## OF NATIONAL INTEREST

**P**RESIDENT and Mrs. Coolidge returned to Washington from their Summer vacation in the Black Hills on Sept. 11. The journey from Rapid City was interrupted at Brookings, S. D., where on the 10th Mr. Coolidge made the address at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial Library at the State College, laid the cornerstone of the Coolidge Sylvan Theatre, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. On Oct. 4 he made an address at the opening of the International Radio Conference at Washington.

Something of a stir in naval circles was occasioned about the middle of September by the publication by Rear Admiral Thomas

P. Magruder, Commandant of the Fourth Naval District and head of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, of a magazine article sharply criticizing alleged extravagance and inefficiency in the conduct of the navy. Instead of disciplining the author, Secretary Wilbur on Sept. 26 directed Admiral Magruder "to submit to the Navy Department promptly a full and detailed plan for the reorganization of the navy and the Navy Department."

The seamy side of prohibition enforcement was more than usually prominent during the month. Charges that there were "many incompetent and crooked men in the service" and that "bribery is rampant," publicly made on Sept. 9 by Seymour W. Lowman, former Lieutenant Governor of New York and now in charge of the Enforcement Department of the Treasury, were shortly followed by sweeping changes in the personnel of the service in Connecticut and New Jersey, and, on Oct. 4, by a drastic limitation of the "snooping" activities of prohibition agents in New York City. The killing of Charles G. Gunderlach, a farmer living near Leonardstown, Md., on Sept. 16, by prohibition agents who raided his premises without a search warrant, brought to about 200 the number of persons who have been killed by Federal agents since national prohibition was adopted. A number of indictments by Federal Grand Juries have been reported.

An investigation of political conditions in Indiana resulted in the indictment at Indianapolis, on Sept. 9, of John L. Duvall, Mayor of that city, for violation of the Corrupt Practices act of the State, and of Governor Ed Jackson for conspiracy to commit a felony and attempted bribery. Mayor Duvall was found guilty on Sept. 22, but refused to vacate his office. The trial of Governor Jackson was set for Oct. 3.

The much discussed undergraduate col-



A German view of President Coolidge's Refusal to run again

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*



lege, intended to test the educational ideas of Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, opened at the University of Wisconsin on Sept. 21 with an attendance of about 125 students.

A tornado which swept through a section of St. Louis on Sept. 29 took in a few minutes a toll of nearly ninety lives, injured some 1,500 persons, destroyed or damaged about 5,000 residences or other buildings, and caused a property loss variously estimated at from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. Protection and relief work were promptly organized with the aid of Federal troops and the Red Cross.

Corporal James Tanner, whose extravagant conduct of the Pension Bureau in the Administration of Benjamin Harrison forced him eventually to resign as Commissioner of Pensions, died at Washington on Oct. 2, aged 83. On the same day Governor Austin Peay of Tennessee, who attained

national notoriety during the Scopes trial by his support of the anti-evolution law of the State, died at his home at Nashville, aged 51.

The Teapot Dome Naval Reserve oil fields of Wyoming were restored to the complete ownership and control of the United States Government by a unanimous decision handed down by the Supreme Court on Oct. 10. The Court declared that when Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, leased the land to Harry F. Sinclair it was a conspiracy "to circumvent the law and defeat public policy." The decision was written by Associate Justice Pierce Butler. The trial of Fall and Sinclair on a criminal conspiracy charge was scheduled for Oct. 17. Congress alone can decide whether or not Sinclair is to be reimbursed for the millions he has already spent on the property.

#### MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

## Mexican Presidential Campaign Precipitates Revolution

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE Mexican Presidential campaign resulted, during the first days of October, in the flaring up of a revolt that threatened to assume the proportions of a widespread revolution. General Francisco Serrano and General Arnulfo Gomez, the two candidates opposing General Obregon, former President, were the ringleaders of the rebellion which broke out on Oct. 3 with the mutiny of 800 soldiers and officers in Mexico City, two regiments in Vera Cruz and a battalion at Torreon. Prompt and drastic measures of suppression were immediately undertaken by the Calles Government, with the result that on Oct. 4 General Serrano and thirteen prominent leaders of the revolt in Mexico City were court-martialed and shot. General Miguel A. Peralta, head of the Military College of Mexico; General Carlos Vidal, former Governor of the State of Chiapas and Serrano's "campaign manager," and Rafael Martinez de Escobar, former Member of Congress, were among those executed. The ensuing statement issued by Calles asserted

that the Government had long known of the seditious activities of the rebels, but had refrained from interfering until they committed an actual breach of public order. On the same day Lieut. Col. Augusto Manzanilla, leader of the Torreon Battalion, and all the officers of his staff were captured by Federal troops after a sharp battle and executed. It was reported on Oct. 5 that General Gomez had also been captured and executed, but this was later denied. It was also asserted that the revolt had spread to nine States—Vera Cruz, Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla, Jalisco, Eastern Chihuahua, Sinaloa and Nayarit—and on Oct. 3 Chihuahua, Coahuila, San Luis Potosi and Durango were added to the list. General Alfredo Quijano was executed on Oct. 6, and on the same day General Vincent Gonzales and thirteen members of the State Legislature died before a firing squad in the State of Morelos. The twenty-five Deputies who had supported the campaigns of Gomez and Serrano were expelled from Congress on Oct. 5.

General Serrano once served on Obregon's staff and in his Cabinet, but during the present campaign became his bitter enemy, and recently published an open letter charging Obregon with being mentally unbalanced. On Oct. 8 it was reported that General Alfonso de la Huerta, brother of the former President, had been executed in the State of Sonora and that Gomez was in retreat.

A battle was fought Oct. 9 between 3,000 Federals under General Gonzalo Escobar and 1,000 rebels under General Gomez and Hector Almada in the Perote region of the State of Vera Cruz, with the result that 600 rebels surrendered. The two Generals, however, escaped with a small force. President Calles's pronouncement when he heard the result of the battle was, "The revolution is absolutely ended."

The appointment by President Coolidge of Dwight W. Morrow of New Jersey as United States Ambassador to Mexico was announced in Washington on Sept. 20. Mr. Morrow resigned from the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. on Oct. 1 and his appointment became effective on Oct. 6. Following the announcement on Sept. 20, Mexican bonds advanced sensationally on the New York Stock Exchange, active issues closing  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to  $3\frac{3}{4}$  points net higher for the day. Neither President Coolidge nor Mr. Morrow had made any pronouncements concerning the future Mexican policy of the United States Government when this article went to press.

Interference in the operations of American mines in Mexico by rebel and radical bands and outrages against American citizens in Mexico, continued during September. The seizure of the American Mazata silver mine, near Guadalajara, by a rebel band and the renewed trouble stirred up at the mines of the American Amparo Company by Mexican radicals resulted in strong representations being made to the Mexican Foreign Office by the United States Chargé d'Affaires Schoenfeld on Sept. 15.

David Fisher, an American employe of the Southern Pacific Railway at Guadalajara, was shot and killed by a Mexican clerk on Sept. 14. The United States Embassy promptly requested the Mexican Foreign Office to see that proper steps be taken for the punishment of Fisher's assailant.

Consul Dwyer reported to the Department of State on Sept. 14 that he was pressing his demands before the Attorney General and the Chief of Police of Guadalajara for the punishment of the recently

apprehended murderer of Arthur Brewer, an American who was killed at Guadalajara last June.

Following a lull of several months in the so-called "Catholic rebellion" in the State of Jalisco, hostilities of a minor character were resumed late in September. A bulletin issued at the Presidential offices in Mexico City on Sept. 28 told of two brisk combats between rebellious "Catholic fanatics" and Federal troops in Jalisco. According to the bulletin thirty-four of the rebels were killed, and a Catholic priest by the name of Sadana was captured and summarily court-martialed and executed. Two days later Associated Press dispatches from Mexico City reported that a total of eighty-nine rebels had been killed in battle with Federal soldiers. The same dispatches reported the arrest in Mexico City that day of 29 Catholics, both men and women, who were suspected of revolutionary activities.

The promotion of education among the lower classes and particularly among the rural classes, the construction of good roads and the development of large irrigation projects constitute the main part of the program of the Calles Administration for the social and economic development of Mexico. In addition to promoting elementary education among the masses the Mexican Government is now maintaining five fully equipped agricultural colleges. The greatest activity in road construction is now taking place on the national highway from Mexico City to Nuevo Laredo, on the Texas border. Provisional travel over the practically completed highway from Mexico City to the Pacific port of Acapulco has been announced for November.

A storm of cyclonic proportions apparently was responsible for a tidal wave which did great damage along many miles of the Western coast of Mexico in mid-September. At the same time hundreds of Indians in the interior of the State of Vera Cruz were reported to have been made homeless by storms and floods. Railroad operations were interrupted and crops were damaged. In consequence of the flooding of many towns and villages in the States of Guanajuato, Morelos, and Mexico by the River Lerma, 25,000 people were unofficially reported on Sept. 19 to be homeless. Relief measures were at once initiated.

Long distance telephone service between the United States and Mexico was inaugurated on Sept. 29 when President Coolidge in Washington and President Calles in Mexico City exchanged greetings.

## EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

**NICARAGUA**—Hostilities between American Marines and Nicaraguans opposed to American intervention resulted during September in additional fatalities on both sides, and officials of the United States Government admitted that conditions in parts of Nicaragua were still bad, and that without the exercise, or at least the show of force, it would be impossible to carry out the recent Stimson agreements regarding disarmament of the former hostile factions.

Brig. Gen. F. B. McCoy, named by President Coolidge as head of a commission to supervise the Nicaraguan elections next year, after visiting a large part of the Pacific side of Nicaragua and after conferring with members of all parties, reported to the State Department as follows:

Conditions of peace and order are much better than expected. The return of the political exiles and property classes is significant. In the province of Nueva Segovia Marines and units of the *Guardia Nacional* (National Guard) protect garrisoned towns, but General Sandino and other chronic outlaws still prey upon the countryside. Active operations now in progress to remedy this situation. Violent political partisanship rife, however; cooperation practicable only through Legation and Marines. Confidence general in these means. Provisions Stimson agreements are gradually being carried out.

On Sept. 8, after an all-night forced march, a United States Marine patrol attacked a band commanded by the Honduran bandit, Santos Lobos, west of Sanoto, killing three bandits and mortally wounding two. In order to protect holdings of the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company at Puerto Cabezas additional Marines were sent there from Bluefields on Sept. 14. Five days later, according to a Department of State release to the press, "about 200 followers of Salgado, former lieutenant of General Sandino, attacked the garrison of twenty Marines and twenty-five guardias at Telpaneca. One Marine, [Private Splenton Clyde Russell of Alabama], was killed, and another [Private James S. Glasser of Virginia] was mortally wounded. One guardia was seriously wounded. The bandits are reported to have lost twenty killed and fifty wounded before they withdrew. They were well armed with rifles, machine guns, hand bombs and dynamite bombs." This engagement was one of the most serious in which United States Marines have been involved since the beginning of intervention in Nicaragua.

The same day (Sept. 19), Rear Admiral

Sellers, in command of the Special Service Squadron in Nicaraguan waters, reported to the Navy Department that a "gang of malcontents" had attacked Wawa Central on the east coast of Nicaragua, and had killed the *commandante* there, but that a U. S. Marine patrol had dispersed the gang after the leader, Francisco Barrios, was killed. Admiral Sellers further reported that General Sandino was reported in that vicinity; that lawlessness existed along the Puerto Cabezas-Wawa Railway; that a Marine patrol had been placed at the terminals of the railroad; and that a Marine guard from the U. S. gunboat *Tulsa* had been landed temporarily at Bragman's Bluff "to reinforce the Marines now stationed at that place."

Despite the above evidence of an extension of rebellious activities a somewhat more optimistic report on conditions in Nicaragua was made to the Department of State by United States Chargé d'Affaires Dana C. Munro on Sept. 22, as follows:

The economic situation of Nicaragua and the financial situation of the Government are remarkably good considering the events of the past two years. Except in the relatively unimportant Northern departments, and to a less extent in those departments where the appointment of Liberal *jefes politicos* (Political Governors) and the consequent division of authority has caused administrative confusion with resulting disorder, conditions are practically normal. Heavy rains have assured good crops and the prospects for coffee and sugar are especially promising. The customs receipts have been good and the internal revenues fair despite the decline in the receipts from the Liberal departments. The million dollar loan from the New York bankers is being reduced with astonishing rapidity and will probably be paid off by July 1, 1928.

**PANAMA**—A discussion of the status of the Panamá Canal Zone at a session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on Sept. 10 by Dr. Eusebio Morales, Panaman delegate and former Foreign Minister of Panamá, created a mild sensation. Dr. Morales is reported to have argued at length that, despite the fact that certain rights had been given to the United States in the Canal Zone, the real sovereignty over that territory remained vested in the Government of Panamá, and that unless the United States accepted Panamá's claim to that sovereignty the League should intervene, and this controversy (and any other dispute) should be submitted for settlement to an impartial court of justice—inferentially the Permanent Court of Inter-



national Justice at The Hague. Dr. Morales predicted that the United States, "as a just country, a lover of peace and an enthusiastic supporter of international arbitration," finally would accept Panamá's interpretation that the real sovereignty over the Canal Zone remains vested in Panamá.

Two days later it was declared at the Department of State, on authority of Secretary of State Kellogg, that there never has been any dispute between the United States and Panamá as to the sovereignty of the Canal Zone, and further that the League of Nations has nothing whatever to do with American control over the Canal Zone, either now or in the future. Pan-

amá dispatches of Sept. 14 stated that President Chiari of Panamá had let it be known that he did not intend to support the suggestions made by Dr. Morales, who had been requested "to explain his statements and the circumstances which caused them, so that we may correctly define our attitude in that respect."

**CUBA**—Cuba was elected to a non-permanent seat in the Council of the League of Nations on Sept. 15. This action, together with the election of Canada to a similar seat at the same time, gives the North American continent representation for the first time in the Council of the League.

#### *SOUTH AMERICA*

## The Tariff Controversy With Argentina

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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**I**NVESTIGATION of the cost of production of corn and flaxseed in Argentina by agents of the United States Tariff Commission has proved "unwelcome." This was intimated to United States Government officials during the second week of September by Ambassador Pueyrredon, Argentine representative in Washington. He said that Argentina had no thought of officially barring these investigators of the Tariff Commission, but that their presence in the country would be "unwelcome," which, taken in a political sense, had an ominous sound, indicative of the possibility of a breach in the friendly relations hitherto existing between the two countries.

Under the provisions of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law duties are based on what is called the "scientific principle" of making the duty on an imported commodity equal to the difference between the costs of its production in the country of origin and in the United States. Under the flexible provisions of this law (Section 317) the President is authorized to increase or decrease duties up to a maximum of 50 per cent. to cover this difference between foreign and domestic costs of production, and presidential decisions as to such changes in rates are based upon investigations of cost of production abroad made by the Tariff Commission. To make this investigation a group of five cost

agents, headed by Professor Warren of Cornell University, was scheduled to sail for Argentina on Sept. 24, but the representations by Ambassador Pueyrredon caused the sailing to be canceled. While the flexible tariff investigation of costs abroad has heretofore led to unpleasant situations in several countries, notably in France, Spain and Norway, not until now has opposition been embodied in a formal protest.

Argentine resentment is due in part to the application by our Department of Agriculture of restrictions against beef coming from countries infested with foot-and-mouth disease, which directly affect the exportation to the United States of Argentine meat. Another cause of ill-feeling is founded on the agitation that attended the Sacco-Vanzetti trial.

After conference with President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg, Dr. Alfred P. Dennis, acting Chairman of the Tariff Commission, said:

Undeterred by the attitude of Argentina, the Commission will push the corn and flaxseed investigations and no doubt complete them sooner than could have been done if cost agents had been sent to Argentina. The ascertainment of domestic costs for both commodities is already approaching completion and we shall have to obtain evidences of Argentine costs from such secondary sources as may be accessible in this country.

The Argentine protest becomes impressive, however, because of other retaliatory measures which it engendered, and especially because of the growing importance of Argentine-American trade. On Sept. 19 a measure intended as retaliation for the alleged high tariff imposed on Argentine meats imported into the United States was proposed by a Conservative member of the Chamber of Deputies, Daniel Amedo Videla. Señor Videla delivered to the Secretary of the Chamber a project increasing by 6 per cent. customs duties on all articles from the United States. The project further provided that a special fund be formed out of the proceeds of the increased duties, which shall be used exclusively to subsidize the exportation of Argentine meats to the United States, applying to this use an amount equal to the excess duties charged by the United States customs, and authorized the Government to diminish or increase import duties proportionate to the future action of the United States in tariff changes. Since the regular session of Congress adjourned on Sept. 30, however, time did not permit consideration of the bill.

Since in 1926 we sold to Argentina goods valued at \$144,000,000 and imported commodities to a value of \$88,000,000, which meant that, with the exception of Cuba, no other country in all Latin America offered a better market for American goods, the growing hostility of Argentine legislators

and importers merits serious consideration.

Economic conditions in Argentina have not been satisfactory during the last three months, although some improvement became evident in September. The national budget for 1928 was considered at a Cabinet meeting during the last week of August. The Minister of Finance estimated revenues at 640,000,000 pesos (a peso is approximately \$0.42), but stated that there was urgent need for the restriction of public expenditures. The original budget estimate placed expenditures next year at 625,000,000 pesos.

A shipment of \$12,500,000 in gold was made from New York to Argentina on Sept. 10. This represents part of the proceeds of the \$40,000,000 Argentine Government loan floated recently in the United States. During the first eight months of 1927 the United States advanced \$110,000,000 to Argentina. The gold transfer is the result of a premium on Argentine exchange, which followed a heavy excess of that country's exports over its imports.

Argentina continues her well-established policy of conservation of national resources, and on Sept. 9 the Chamber of Deputies approved a bill giving the Government the exclusive right of exploitation. The Chamber had previously approved a bill for the nationalization of mines and petroleum wells. Heretofore ownership of subsoil deposits has been vested in the States.

## OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

**I**MPROVEMENT of communications between the United States and South America and between distant and inaccessible localities in that continent has commanded attention for a decade. Representative Henry W. Watson, recently returned from a three months' trip in South America, has envisaged an air highway from New York to Chile, and the plan has received the approval of President Coolidge and Secretary Hoover. Mr. Watson said:

There is a strong movement by Americans in South America to install postal air service between New York and Valparaiso, Chile, across the Andes to Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.

This project must be financed in part by the Congress of the United States. Air postal service will be of great value toward the improvement of commercial relations between North and South America.

Now is the opportunity to consider quick postal service if we wish to hold our share of the trade with France, Germany and England. Geographically, we are favorably situated. Quick communications make quick sales; quick sales, prosperity.

**C**HILE—Don Carlos Davila, newly appointed Ambassador to the United States, stated on his arrival in Washington that Chile has overcome her handicaps of a bad political system and unstable currency; that the budget laws drawn up by the Kemmerer Commission are being applied and that nitrate production is as good as in pre-war time.

The first annual report of the Banco Central de Chile, founded one year ago by the mission of financial experts headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer, has been given to the public. In August, 1926, the Finance Commission of the Chamber of Deputies estimated that the year would end with a deficit in the Government finances of 174,000,000 pesos, which, added to the deficit of the previous year, would total 321,000,000. A crisis in nitrate business had reduced exportation from 2,500,000 tons in 1925 to 1,700,000 in 1926, which resulted in general stagnation of industry, agriculture and com-

merce, and the forced closing of the Banco Español de Chile in December, 1925, had tied up 30,000,000 pesos of Government deposits. In such circumstances the Banco Central began business on Jan. 11, 1926. Since that time it has adjusted currency circulation to the needs of the country, maintained a stable rate of exchange and decreased interest rates, all of which has had a beneficial psychological effect on the financial situation.

The mixed Congressional committee on import tariff has concluded its studies and recommends an upward revision of duties on such items as low-grade cotton goods, pharmaceutical preparations and certain manufactures of iron, steel, leather and wood. It also recommends that the President be authorized to increase or decrease duties by 20 per cent. when because of increase of price, scarcity of article or competition to native industry such action seems advisable, and to reduce import duties up to 25 pesos per ton on metal construction material, iron, steel and other metals and machinery for mining, agriculture, manufacturing, railways and certain vehicles.

**COLOMBIA**—Under the treaty of 1922 the sum of \$25,000,000 has been paid by the United States to the Republic of Colombia during the last five years in annual

instalments of \$5,000,000. The bulk of this has been invested in the Bank of the Republic and a number of railway projects, since the national need of means of communication is most pressing. The spending of the first instalment of \$5,000,000 on the bank has met with unqualified approval on the part of all Colombians. The founding of such an institution was one of the recommendations of the American commission of financial experts which visited Colombia upon the invitation of the Government in 1923. The dramatic arrival of the initial capital for the new bank by airplane stifled an incipient financial crisis.

**ECUADOR**—The Government of Ecuador has issued a decree forbidding the entry into the country of all foreign churchmen, irrespective of faith. In exceptional cases, however, the Minister of the Interior may permit such entry for a period not exceeding forty days. The Ecuador authorities have recently resorted to the deportation of foreign priests, whom the Government charged with revolutionary activities.

The Banco Central del Ecuador, organized on recommendation of the Kemmerer Commission, began operations in August. Its capital is 10,000,000 sucres, which may be increased to 20,000,000.

#### THE BRITISH EMPIRE

## British Labor Ends Relations With Moscow

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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**R**ELATIONS of negotiation and co-operation between organized labor in Great Britain and the Soviet Union were broken off on Sept. 8, when the British Trades Union Congress, meeting at Edinburgh, voted by almost four to one that the Soviet trade unions should be informed that no useful purpose would be served by a continuation of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Advisory Committee so long as the present Soviet attitude and policy were maintained. The action of the congress was a great, probably a decisive, victory for the conservative element of the British labor movement, which is determined that organized British labor shall not be controlled from Moscow, either directly or through the small minority of British unionists who are members of

the Communist Party or Communists at heart. Coincidentally with its break with Moscow, the congress placed the blame for the absence of industrial peace in Great Britain directly upon the Conservative Government of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, and declared that harmony could be had only by the immediate repeal of the Trade Union bill or the holding of a general election.

In supporting the resolution to break with the Soviet trade unions, Mr. W. Citrine, Secretary of the congress, declared that the British and the Soviet members of the Joint Advisory Committee had entirely different conceptions of what should be its functions. The Russians regarded themselves as the guardians of the world's work-



ers and conceived that they had the right to dictate their policies to the rest of the world. The British labor movement, on the other hand, had been built up on the principle of the autonomy of its units and of its freedom from outside control. The constitution of the Joint Committee declared that its purpose was to establish a close link between the Soviet trade unions and the Amsterdam International. The Russians, however, had sought to use the committee to form the nucleus of a new International which would dictate to organized labor the world over. Finally, the Soviet delegates had been hectoring, abusive and domineering in their attitude toward the British unions, and had made slanderous personal attacks upon the British leaders.

J. R. Clynes declared that the only element of surprise about the decision was that it had come so late. He also denounced the recent execution of twenty Russians by the Soviet Government as murder, and added: "I cannot understand the mentality of those who denounce murders committed in one country and gloss them over when committed in another country. Murder is murder the whole world over." Ernest Bevin of the Transport Workers emphasized a fundamental difference between British and Soviet trade unions, declaring: "The moral standard of trade unionism is to hammer out an agreement and stand by it. The Russian's standard of honor is that the end justifies the means."

It is significant that most of the opposition to the action of the congress was not based upon any approval of Bolshevik principles or methods, but rather upon the fear that the severance of relations with the Soviet trade unions would be interpreted as a moral gesture in support of the Baldwin Government, and particularly of that Government's policy in breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government. However it may be interpreted, the resolution certainly was not intended to extend such

support to the Government. Rather, it was intended to demonstrate conclusively that British labor was not under the control of Communists either from within or without its ranks. The importance of this demonstration of independence is heightened by the very intimate relationship existing between the trade union organization and the Labor Party, a party which in Parliament now constitutes "his Majesty's Opposition" and which hopes in the near future to obtain a majority in the House of Commons and thus become "his Majesty's Government." From the standpoint of practical politics the resolution doubtless will render the Labor Party less vulnerable to attack during the approaching general election on the ground that it is tainted with Communism and allied with Russian Communists.

The annual conference of the British Labor Party, which opened at Blackpool on Oct. 3, also took action in excluding Communists, and again at its final session on Oct. 7 defeated another attempt to heal the breach between British and Soviet labor organizations. Fenner Brockway moved a resolution that steps be taken to bring about the reunion of the international working class political movement by a conference of representatives of the Labor Party and the Socialist International, the Third International and unaffiliated Socialist parties. C. T. Cramp, on behalf of the party executive, would have none of the motion, which, he suggested, sought to unite like and unlike. Social Democrats who had spent years in prison under the Czar's régime, he said, were now spending further years in prison under the Soviet Government, and no Democratic or Socialist Party could possibly contemplate a union with an International that would stand for such a thing. The resolution was defeated by a card vote of 1,831,000 to 1,071,000. Toward the end of the session A. J. Cook, the miners' Secretary, was prevented from speaking by the miners present.

## OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**G**REAT BRITAIN—The British Government on Sept. 30 issued the text of a bill which will be introduced in Parliament to amend the existing unemployment insurance law, popularly referred to as the "dole." The principal changes proposed are to reduce the weekly benefit for unemployed men without dependents and increase the compensation of those with adult dependents; to create a new class of beneficiaries between 18 and 21 years of age, who will pay

lower contributions and receive a smaller benefit; to increase the benefit to mothers, and to require the applicant for benefits to accept work other than his usual employment after a reasonable interval of unemployment or lose the "dole." The bill departs in important particulars from the recommendations of the Blanesburgh committee of inquiry, and indications were that it would be opposed by the Labor Party.

A statement issued on Sept. 30 by the

Chancellor of the Exchequer indicated that there had been an increase of \$31,000,000 in British revenue during the first half of the fiscal year. This showing, combined with the return of sterling to parity with the dollar and many other factors, gave rise to a feeling that the country was moving steadily toward a more stable financial and economic position.

Two resolutions asking more tariff protection were passed at the final session on Oct. 7 of the Conservative Party conference at Cardiff. One recommended simplification of the working of the Safeguarding of Industries act and the other asked specifically for protection of the iron and steel trades, which were represented to be in a condition of dire necessity. The conference also endorsed the action of the British Government delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in a resolution declaring that the "Government acted rightly in refusing to assent to any proposition that would have the effect of reducing our naval strength below that point necessary to protect our seaborne commerce and empire communications."

**IRELAND**—The Irish election on Sept. 15 did not materially alter the political situation in the Free State. The Cosgrave Government was returned to power with a slightly increased majority. This majority, however, is dependent upon continued support from the Independent and Farmer parties and amounts to only four votes in a Chamber of 153 members. The Fianna Fail of Eamon de Valera increased its popular vote by 25 per cent., raised its representation in the Dail Eireann from 44 to 57, and definitely established itself as a constitutional party of opposition ready and entitled to form an alternative Government should the Cosgrave Ministry fall or resign. The smaller parties suffered severely in the election, especially Labor, which lost a large proportion of its seats and was deprived of the able Parliamentary leadership of Thomas Johnson, who was not returned to the Dail.

After the election President Cosgrave indicated that he expected his Government to remain in power as long as it continued to command a majority. Obviously, however, the Government's position is very weak and can be maintained only by a policy of compromise with the Independent and the Farmer groups. From the standpoint of the political and constitutional development of the Free State, however, the situation is now nearer normal than it ever

has been. The bulk of the Republicans are now definitely working within the constitutional system, and the importance of the smaller parties, which make the successful operation of Parliamentary Government excessively difficult, has been greatly reduced.

**CANADA**—An important milestone in the growth of Canadian nationality and the development of the new British Commonwealth of Nations was reached when, on Sept. 15, Canada was elected a member of the Council of the League of Nations. Senator Raoul Dandurand, the Dominion's first representative on the Council, declared that instead of establishing the old argument that the British Empire has seven votes in the Assembly of the League and two in the Council, Canada's election to the latter body secured recognition of the absolute equality of members of the British Commonwealth as independent units within the League. Canada, Senator Dandurand declared, is absolutely independent of Great Britain internationally, and he cited the exchange of Ministers between Ottawa and Washington and the independent negotiation and ratification of Canadian treaties as manifestations of that independence.

That the Canadian representative on the Council was not to be a rubber stamp in the hands of Downing Street was further indicated when Senator Dandurand refused to accept the report of Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, on the Hungarian-Rumanian land controversy and compelled further consideration of the matter in dispute.

Government statistics recently released showed that the total trade of Canada between Aug. 1, 1926, and Aug. 1, 1927, amounted to \$2,331,000,000, an increase of \$17,000,000 over that of the preceding twelve months. During the past year imports have increased and exports have decreased slightly.

**AUSTRALIA**—During the first week of September the attention of all Australia was centred on a struggle which occurred between the Queensland Railway Union and the Queensland Labor Government. The conflict was an outgrowth of several years' dissension between the union and the leaders of the Queensland Labor Party. Its immediate causes, however, grew out of a strike in a sugar mill which had no connection with the railways.

The workers in the mill walked out because the management refused to re-employ certain men at the dictation of the union. The matter was referred to the State board of arbitration, which decided against the union. The strikers, however, refused to abide by the decision of the board even though its terms were accepted by their own executive. The Railway Union then declared the products of the sugar mill "black" and refused to handle them. The Government, as the owner of the railway, proceeded to discharge individual train crews which refused to move trains carrying the "black" goods. An ugly situation was at once produced and on Sept. 1 the Railway Commissioner issued a proclamation dismissing all employees in the service on account of the "impossibility of working the lines owing to the hostility of the railwaymen's union." At the same time the Commissioner offered to reinstate all employees who would sign an agreement to obey the regulations of the railroad. A motor transport service was inaugurated, but the strike effectively tied up most of the business of the State. Threats of sympathetic strikes were heard throughout the Commonwealth and it was feared that the struggle might involve all Australia. The Government stood its ground, however, and it soon became apparent that it had the backing of the Commonwealth authorities and of the general public. The result was that on Sept. 10 the railwaymen signed the required agreement and returned to work. The victory of the Queensland Government was regarded in Australia as the victory of the moderate wing of the Labor movement and of the forces in Australian society which are determined that the economic and political life of the Commonwealth shall not be dominated by extremist leaders who are out to wreck the existing system. In commenting upon the situation the Commonwealth Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce, declared that the strike was an attempt to dictate to the constitutional government; that the majority of the extremists who preached class war were foreigners, "who battered on Australian workers"; and that the next Parliament would be asked to enact laws to prevent the extension of disputes in the manner in which this difficulty had been extended from a sugar mill until it involved the whole railway system of Queensland. The incident is a typical manifestation of the struggle which is going on in Australia between the radical labor extremists, the moderates within the trades union movement and the people at large as

represented by the Commonwealth and State Governments.

**NEW ZEALAND**—By proposing to contribute £1,000,000 toward the cost of the Singapore naval base, and further increasing the tariff preference granted to British goods, New Zealand has again demonstrated her position as the most imperially minded Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. During the debate on the Singapore base resolution Prime Minister Coates declared that New Zealand's prosperity, almost her existence, was dependent on naval defense. Great Britain, he said, was contributing twenty-five shillings per capita for naval purposes, Australia seventeen shillings and New Zealand eight shillings. By pledging £125,000 annually for eight years towards the Singapore base and maintaining large cruisers, New Zealand would increase her annual contribution to ten shillings per capita. The Labor Party refused to support the proposal on the grounds that Labor throughout the Empire was opposed to the base because it regarded it as an incentive to future warfare. The resolution was carried in the House of Representatives on Sept. 21 by fifty-one votes to ten.

In introducing the Government's new tariff proposals on Sept. 13 the Minister of Finance and Customs declared that the aims of the measure were: (1) to reduce the cost of living and cost of production in primary and secondary industries; (2) to assist the local farming and manufacturing industries; (3) to encourage Empire trade; and (4) to remove the protection hitherto accorded to uneconomic and inoperative local industries. It intended, further, to provide power to negotiate in order to extend the market of New Zealand products. For this purpose the Government asked for authority to impose a maximum and minimum tariff for purposes of negotiation, also for power to grant tariff concessions in return for favorable terms for New Zealand products. Any such concessions thus made would automatically apply to the United Kingdom, and the British preferential rates in general were left unaltered, thus increasing the advantage of Empire products.

Early in September the dissatisfaction of certain European residents and natives of Western Samoa with the administration established in that territory by New Zealand under a League of Nations Mandate resulted in the appointment by the New Zealand Government of two commissioners



to inquire into the situation in the mandated territory.

**INDIA**—The debate on the Reserve Bank bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the final collapse of the measure illustrated vividly the difficulties of government in that portion of the British Empire. The bill was intended to provide for the creation of a reserve bank for the assistance of commerce and industry in India. There was almost general agreement that the measure was sound from the economic standpoint and that such a bank was urgently needed. In the Assembly, however, the bill was completely swamped by the racial, political and religious jealousies and suspicions of the several groups into which India is divided. The Government preferred a bank with private shareholders, as did the unofficial European members; but it was agreed that the State should subscribe for the stock in deference to the wishes of the Nationalist members, who feared that private ownership would place the control of currency and credit in the hands of the financiers. Nationalists demanded that three of the fifteen directors be elected members of the Legislature, while the Government declared that it would drop the bill if such a clause were inserted. The Hindu members demanded, further, that the directors be elected by provisional electoral colleges. The Government assented to this proposal, in principle, but the Moslems opposed it bitterly on the ground that it would introduce the principle of common Hindu-Moslem electorates, to which they are opposed wherever or however applied. The Indians demanded that the bill contain a provision that either the Governor or Deputy Governor of the bank should be an Indian. The European members refused to assent to the inclusion of such a rule. Finally, after several weeks of patient negotiations and skillful compromise, Sir Basil Blackett, the finance member in charge of the bill, suddenly announced that the Government did not intend to proceed with the measure, "at present." It was at once declared in the lobbies of the Assembly that the Secretary of State for India had again interfered with a matter which concerned India alone, and that the Finance Minister had tendered his resignation. The failure of this important measure is a fair example of the extent to which the deep divisions between the native communities, between the Indian and

the British groups within the peninsula, and between the British and Indian Governments render slow and halting the economic, social and political development of the Indian Empire.

Meetings of protest were held in various Indian cities against Miss Katherine Mayo's recently published book, *Mother India*. On Sept. 17, however, the Indian Assembly took an important step toward the abolition of child marriage, a custom denounced by Miss Mayo, when it approved the principle of legislative prevention of such unions.

Twenty-five dead and 180 seriously injured was the toll of casualties resulting from Hindu-Moslem rioting at Nagpur early in September. The intervention of British troops was necessary to restore peace and order in the district.

**SIERRA LEONE**—The Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance was passed unanimously by the Sierra Leone Legislative Council on Sept. 22. The law will come into force on Jan. 1 next. It does not affect the colony, in which there are no slaves, but the Sierra Leone Protectorate, where slavery has hitherto existed. The same day, Sir Edward Hilton Young, presenting the report of the Sixth Committee on slavery to the Assembly of the League of Nations, made special reference to the abolition of the modified form of domestic servitude, which, he said, had continued in the Sierra Leone Protectorate in spite of an impression that it had been eliminated from the laws of that territory. The legislation of Sierra Leone was, he added, being brought into conformity with the great British principle that immediately the foot of a slave treads British soil he becomes wholly and forever free. It should be pointed out that on the establishment of the British Protectorate steps were taken at once to put down slave raiding and slave trading and successive ordinances were passed having for their object the abolition of slavery. It was the intention of the Government that an ordinance passed early in 1926 should remove the last vestige of legal sanction to slavery in the protectorate. A decision given by the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone last July showed that this had not been accomplished, so that further legislation became necessary. It is computed that there are at present about 220,000 slaves in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. No provision is made in the new ordinance for compensation to their owners.

# The American Legion Conquers Paris

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE American Legion Convention, held in Paris from the 16th to the 23d of September, will remain—next to the Lindbergh reception—the most striking event in the annals of Franco-American relations since the Armistice. As usual, the predictions of the pessimists on both sides of the water were belied. Those Americans who, for two years had been deprecating the choice made of the French capital for the meeting place of a group of several thousand young men released from the inhibitions of their native land have been proven as mistaken as the Frenchmen who announced that the Legion would walk through the streets of a city in mourning, under a silence of grief and reprobation. From Sept. 16, when General Pershing, National Commander Howard P. Savage and the largest contingent of Legionnaires, landed in Cherbourg and were greeted by representatives of the Government and by the applause of the people, until Sept. 22, when they disbanded to go their several ways, the word "Welcome," which met them at the piers, in the stations, in the streets, was writ large in the hearts of all Frenchmen. Commander Savage stated on the last day that the reception accorded the Legion "was unprecedented in the history of nations."

Either for reasons of prudence or in obedience to the orders of Moscow, the Communists stayed away from the Paris celebration and staged their manifestations in the suburb of Clichy, where 14,000 of them assembled to berate the American Legion and to baptize a square by the name of Place Sacco-Vanzetti. Their paper *L'Humanité* outpoured its daily vituperations of what their spokesman, Deputy Vaillant-Couturier, called the "Fascist, Puritan and Alcoholic Legion." As for the papers which had been especially bitter against the execution of the two Boston anarchists, they observed a more or less sullen silence. Pierre Bertrand wrote in the *Quotidien*: "To be sure, our guests are innocent of that implacable judgment. But it is good, it is wholesome that our silent protest should make them think of what caused us such deep and lasting bitterness."

\* \* \* The American Legion is welcome. But the house is in mourning."

However, the signs of mourning were not much in evidence. Flags, banners, flowers, illuminations met the Legionnaires everywhere. The most impressive feature was the great parade of delegations that marched from the Place d'Iéna, through the Arc de Triomphe, down the Champs Elysées, to the Hôtel de Ville, where the representatives of the municipal assemblies reviewed them. Never had Paris seen such a parade. The multicolored uniforms of the bands, the magnificent drum majors, the presence of women, the good nature, the cheerfulness, the juvenile antics of the men—all was a revelation to the French, who had never witnessed a Shriners Convention and, in the way of processions, know only stately funerals or the 14th of July review of troops. What ill nature some may have harbored, thinking of the many grievances, real or imagined, which they have against America, was dispelled by this unique spectacle which reminded them only of the fact that these 20,000 men were the representatives of that mighty host which, ten years ago, had brought to France renewed courage and



## INTERNATIONAL SONG HIT

The American Legion was enthusiastically welcomed in France  
—The Daily Chronicle, London

confidence in the ultimate victory. And they expressed their gratefulness in continuous and enthusiastic cheers.

This gratitude was voiced on every occasion by the official representatives of France; by M. Tardieu, the former High Commissioner at Washington, now Minister of Public Works, who spoke at the monster banquet of 4,200 covers at the Invalides; by M. Marin, Minister of Pensions, who welcomed the Legion at the opening of their convention in the Trocadéro; by M. Poincaré, who, on the evening of the 18th, at the banquet given by the Government for 560 guests, reviewed, with his usual accuracy and minute detail, all the facts relating to America's share in the war, completing his recital, a few days later, at Verdun and at St. Mihiel, by telling of the final liberation of the territory by American troops in September, 1918; and lastly, by President Doumergue himself, who presided at the first meeting of the convention, received the delegates at the Elysée and decorated Howard P. Savage with the Cross of Commander of the Legion of Honor.

It was from beginning to end a cordial and boisterous reunion of veterans of both armies. Marshal Foch and General Pershing were present at all meetings, spoke often and eloquently, and were cheered enthusiastically. General Gouraud, the one-armed military governor of Paris, was present at the pilgrimage to the American cemetery at Suresnes, when the first tribute was paid to the dead comrades, and he stayed with the Legion to the end, attending all the festivities.

The convention itself, which was held in the enormous hall of the Trocadéro, was another surprise to the French, when they saw the place hitherto devoted to serious debates transformed into a pandemonium of noise, band music, singing of popular tunes, friendly shouts and general "kidding" of one delegation by another. They were likewise surprised to find that these men, who had been pictured as a militaristic and Fascist organization, listened, with apparent approval, at the meeting on the 20th, to speeches by Marshal Foch, General Gouraud and General Pershing, all of which breathed abhorrence for war and love for peace. General Pershing especially stressed that sentiment when he said: "The assembling of the American Legion in France is not merely a reunion of veterans, but the joining together of two great nations having the same passionate love of peace, and there is strong reason to hope that the feelings we see manifested here may be spread out

in new directions and eventually help to protect other lands from the storms of hatred and violence." General Gouraud added: "To imagine that the French, victorious, but who have suffered so much in war and still have to bear such heavy burdens as a result, wish the return of war is ridiculous." And these sentiments were cheered with an enthusiasm which betokened they were shared by all these veterans.

Out of all these common memories and evocations of past struggles and past friendships, these pilgrimages to the battlefields, this pious homage to the fallen, there seems to have come a spirit of renewed good-will and affection between the two nations that have such good reasons to love each other, since they have, in the words of Senator Tyson of Tennessee, "done so much for each other." Whether this spirit will survive these days of commemoration, and facilitate the difficult settlements still pending, the future alone can tell.

As luck would have it, while these festivities were in full swing, grim reality made itself felt again and raised before the two countries the ominous spectre of what looked like a tariff war (discussed elsewhere in these pages).

A special group of 250 Legionnaires, headed by Commander Savage, left Paris on Sept. 25 after the closing of the convention, on a "good-will" tour of the Allied countries and Switzerland. Special trains carried them to Italy, where they were welcomed by the King and the Pope, to Lucerne, Belgium and finally England.

Franco-Russian relations went through a crisis that seemed for a time quite threatening. Early in August the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, M. Christian Rakovsky, put his signature to a document issued in Moscow by the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the close of its session. This declaration incited the citizens of any countries with which Soviet Russia might be at war in the future, "to work actively for the defeat of their Governments" and even laid it down as a duty for soldiers "to pass over to the ranks of the Red Army." The French Government protested at once against what seemed like singular sentiments, if not for a Communist, at least for an Ambassador. While M. Chicherin disavowed Rakovsky's action, "reproving in the clearest and most formal manner the idea that one of the Soviet's representatives could organize a propaganda of insurrection and desertion on the territory of France, with which country the Soviet Gov-



ernment entertains pacific relations," and while Rakovsky himself argued that the statement challenged concerned only a hypothetical case, the French conservative press carried on a violent campaign for the recall of the Red envoy. *Le Figaro*, *Le Journal des Débats*, *La Liberté*, *La Victoire* were especially outspoken, and kept up a running fire which M. Briand managed to ignore and succeeded in having the Ministry disregard. However, after refusing to yield to the pressure of the Nationalists, the Cabinet finally seemed to come to the conclusion that it might, by persuasion, obtain from the Soviet Government, in its own good time, the recall of the indiscreet Ambassador in order to pursue usefully some negotiations now pending between the two Governments.

Among these is the recent offer of the Soviet Government to settle with French bondholders on the basis of the payment of 61,000,000 gold francs over a period of sixty-one years. The Russian debt is estimated at 23,000,000,000 francs. While Max Litvinov, the Russian Commissioner, proudly stated that the French Commission had accepted the principle of the payment in exchange for a commercial credit of \$20,000,000 a year for six years, the French Government did not confirm that view. The French public seemed also less enthusiastic than M. Litvinov, remembering that before the October revolution Russia paid to the French 400,000,000 gold francs in interest alone, and that now even Turkey is paying nearly 50 per cent. of her debts.

Ex-President Millerand, who, after his

defeat at the Senatorial elections of Paris, seemed resigned to retire from active politics, has made his re-entry into public life. Candidate for a seat in the Senate that has become vacant in the Department of Orne, he delivered a long address at Alençon on Sept. 15, setting forth political views very much in harmony with the conservative temper of that region, but quite at variance with the doctrines with which his name used to be associated before the war.

## EVENTS IN BELGIUM

**B**ELGIUM—The Good-Will Expedition of the American Legion arrived in Brussels on Oct. 2. Commander Savage placed a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the whole party visited the field of Waterloo on Oct. 3. A banquet was given in their honor on Oct. 5. Premier Jaspar, who presided, asserted that Belgium would never forget the part the United States played in the World War and during the peace negotiations. "It was due in part to America's efforts that Belgium's independence and national integrity were guaranteed during the Peace Conference," he said. The California delegation presented the Government with 100 California redwood trees, to be planted as a memorial in the historic forest of Seignes.

Louis Franck, Governor of the National Bank, arriving in America on Sept. 7, said that conditions in Belgium were good, both financially and industrially, and that there was practically no unemployment.

## THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

# Germany Celebrates Hindenburg's Eightieth Birthday

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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**R**ELIGIOUS and political animosities and class distinctions of every sort were in large measure momentarily obliterated on Oct. 2, when all Germany joined in paying honor to Paul von Hindenburg, President of the German Republic and former Marshal of the Imperial armies. The occasion was his eightieth birthday,

and the demonstration accorded him rivaled the imposing spectacles of the old Imperial days.

The festivities, which began at an early hour, continued throughout the day. At 8 o'clock military bands gave a concert in front of the Wilhelmstrasse Palace. Next, the President went to church, where he re-

ceived the diplomats and military officials. After a short pause for lunch, he motored along five miles of closely packed, wildly cheering crowds to Berlin's great stadium on the outskirts of the city, where he was tumultuously greeted by a huge concourse, including 40,000 school children. The stadium and the avenues leading to it, as well as the public buildings, were gaily bedecked. The crowds included squads of war veterans covered with medals and bearing regimental banners of every color of the rainbow, and there were also large delegations representing the Stahl Helm, the Jung Deutsch and other reactionary organizations. Officers of the old German Army in full gala uniforms, and even wearing the old spiked helmets of the Hohenzollern days, were interspersed with light-hearted peasant men and women in genuine peasant garb, who had come all the way from Bavaria, Suabia and other far-away regions, to pay homage to their national hero. The stadium festivities, simple but impressive, included a song program by the children. The day closed with a banquet to the President of the Officers' League, at which he wore the uniform of a Field Marshal and practically all his decorations.

In reply to Chancellor Marx, who voiced the greetings of the Government and the German people and eulogized the President's devotion to duty and Christian citizenship, the President made an earnest plea for national unity. "My deepest thoughts at this hour," he said further, "are devoted to our compatriots in the Rhineland districts who, to our regret, have not been relieved from foreign occupation. I greet them with a sad heart, and the wish and hope that the land on the Rhine may soon regain its liberty. To accomplish this will be the foremost purpose of German policy."

The day was significant because of the lively warfare going on in Germany concerning what flag is really the national flag, the black, red and gold, which are the official republican colors, or the black, red and white of old Imperial Germany. Disinterested onlookers expressed the opinion that if the matter were left to the Berlin crowds, the old Imperial colors would win easily.

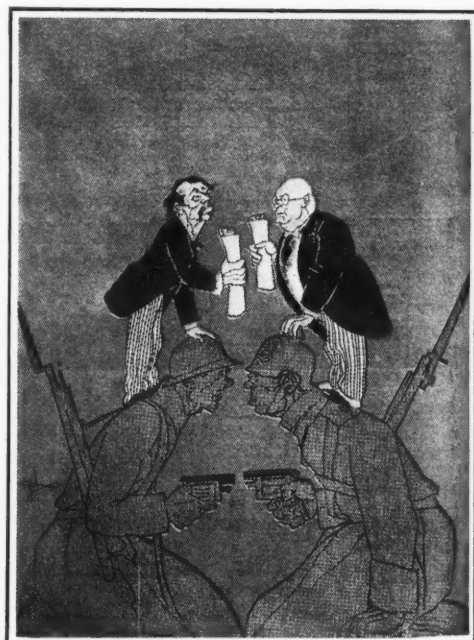
General Ludendorff's "Tannenberg Bund" refused to participate in the celebration because President von Hindenburg had allowed Chancellor Marx to stand with him on the tribune on the occasion of the unveiling of the Tannenberg monument a fortnight earlier. The Reichsbanner, the strong republican organization numbering

about 3,000,000 members, also declined to be officially represented on the ground that too much prominence was being given to Hindenburg, the warrior, and not sufficient to the man as President of the Republic.

All the Red counter-demonstrations failed completely, and the only disorder was a clash between the Stahl Helm and the Communists, in which 300 of the latter were arrested.

An interesting episode occurred in Vienna, where 75,000 people, who assembled to celebrate the German President's birthday, took occasion to emphasize Austria's kinship with Germany and Austria's right to self-determination. The Austrian Government was not officially represented at the gathering, but members of the Pan-German party in Parliament were present. Count Lerchenfeld, German Minister to Austria, responded to repeated calls from the crowds for a German spokesman by reciprocating Austria's aspirations and declaring that Germany would always welcome her sister State into a new federated Teutonic realm.

On Sept 18 President Hindenburg repudiated for the first time, publicly and officially, the charge that Germany was responsible for the World War. The occasion, already referred to, was the unveiling at



The real basis of the Franco-German commercial treaty

—Pasquino, Turin

Tannenberg, East Prussia, of a national war memorial to commemorate the Marshal's victory in the early days of the conflict when the Russian invasion was frustrated. Frantic applause interrupted his speech when he demanded the judgment of an impartial tribunal on the question of Germany's war guilt, and long, lusty cheers greeted him when he concluded his dedicatory utterance.

Baron Ago von Maltzan, German Ambassador to the United States, was killed on Sept. 23 when a Lufthansa passenger plane crashed from a height of 500 feet near Schleiz, Thuringia. The Baron was flying from Berlin to Munich, where, at the time of the accident, his wife and little daughter were on the flying field awaiting his arrival. The accident, the most terrible in the history of the Lufthansa air traffic service, cost the lives of three other passengers and of the pilot and the mechanic, leaving no survivors. Official and social circles on both sides of the Atlantic were stunned and saddened by the tragedy.

The special session of the Reichstag, scheduled for Oct. 17, was called off by the Federal Council on Sept. 15 in order to give the framers of the Federal School bill another fortnight to complete their work. Having mixed politics, religion and education into one dish, Germany's parliamentarians are finding the greatest difficulty in making that dish palatable to the various tastes of the different constituents. While the Communists and Socialists believe that religion and education should not be mixed and object to institutions where religion is part of the curriculum, their voting power is overwhelmed by supporters of the sectarian and non-sectarian school idea. The sectarians, however, are unable to agree, the Protestants charging that the bill as now drawn gives the Catholics too much power.

Only eight days are provided for discussing the school bill on its first reading, after which the special session will be adjourned until later. Its final passage, it is believed, will not come for several years, one reason being that the political parties are so greatly perturbed over the effect of the school bill on next year's general elections, when each of the dozen parties desires to impress the nation at large with its power and influence. The only other State matter which will be considered during the short special session is the question of an increase of salaries for civil service employees.

That Germany, despite the efforts of the framers of the Versailles Treaty, has suc-

ceeded in building warships which, in proportion to tonnage, are easily the most formidable fighting craft in the world, is the statement made by the well-informed naval correspondent of the London *Daily News*. He gives facts and figures designed to demonstrate that the latest German cruisers Königsburg and Karlsruhe, launched last year, could overwhelm cruisers of much larger size, and are better than anything of their proportions in the British and American fleets. The Germans themselves call these cruisers *wunderschiffe* (wonder-ships). Their hulls are built of special steel, combining lightness with great strength; and electric welding, used instead of rivets, lessens their weight. At high speeds the vessels are driven by geared turbines of 65,000 shaft horsepower working on high-pressure steam from six oil-burning boilers. At full power their speed is at least thirty-two knots, but when the ships are cruising they will run on Diesel motors and carry enough oil to travel 6,000 miles. Their armament, extraordinary both in power and distribution, consists of nine 6-inch Krupp guns, firing 101-pound shells at an extreme range on high-angle mounting of 20,000 yards. The guns are housed in triple turrets, three guns in each turret being loaded and fired together as though they were a three-barreled gun. At each broadside nine 6-inch projectiles are discharged, and owing to their rapid rate of fire, nine salvos can be fired every minute. Six guns can be brought to bear on a pursuer and mines can be dropped through a stern hatch. Although 6,000-ton ships, the Königsberg and Karlsruhe have a broadside of nine 6-inch guns, as against six 6-inchers on British cruisers 2,000 tons larger. They are faster than even the new 10,000-ton British cruisers, so that they could not only overwhelm cruisers of much larger size, but run away from almost everything else.

At a convention of city officials which opened at Magdeburg on Sept. 23, attended by Chancellor Marx and a number of present and former Cabinet members, the Mayors and Chamberlains of practically all the large cities of the Reich immediately voiced a demand for a revision of the present taxation system. The combative spirit of the assemblage became evident from the start, for the Chancellor's address was repeatedly interrupted by a small group of Socialist and Communist representatives. Dr. Marx stressed the necessity for tax equalization and the largest possible measure of self-government for the cities, but this did not



suit the radical Opposition. President Mulert in his opening speech bitterly attacked Hjalmar Schacht's loan policy, accusing the Reichsbank head of favoring the great industrial combinations at the expense of the municipalities.

Economically Germany during the month under review continued to improve. According to figures announced on Sept. 25, steel production was 1,426,253 metric tons, against 1,142,664 tons in August, 1926. In the foreign trade statement for August, however, the export of manufactured goods on which the foreign trade balance must ultimately depend, declined slightly.

The publicly supported unemployed were stated to have numbered 403,949 on Sept. 1, as against 420,174 on Aug. 15, but there must be added to these figures about 150,000 receiving so-called "crisis support." On Oct. 1 a new unemployment insurance law went into effect which transferred the whole financial burden from the shoulders of the public and the States to those of employers and employed.

**AUSTRIA**—Reverberations of the Vienna riots of last July continue to disturb the political horizon of Vienna. To prevent their recurrence, the National Government has taken certain precautionary steps. These include, in the first place, an order directing that in the future all policemen shall be armed with revolvers and twenty-five rounds of ammunition, instead of with the comparatively harmless swords with which they were formerly equipped. These revolvers will be supplemented with short stabbing daggers. The police will also have at their disposal two armored tanks which have already been ordered from England. The Government has, furthermore, prohibited all street parades or demonstrations for the time being.

The Social Democrats bitterly resent these precautionary measures. They have long been accustomed to street parades as a means of demonstrating their strength, as many as four or five parades being held monthly. They are also anxious to curb the Government police. Indeed, they are again demanding that Herr Schober, Vienna police head, who, they assert, is in large measure responsible for the Vienna riots, resign office. Speaking on Sept. 12 before one of the twenty-four monster mass-meetings called in protest against the methods of Government police, Burgomaster Seitz of Vienna declared that Schober had outlived his usefulness as head of the Vienna police. He also stated that as a re-



THE FRENCH TROOPS IN GERMANY  
If withdrawal goes on at this rate, the last troops will look like this  
—Ulk, Berlin

sult of the police activities last July, 7,500 bourgeois had enrolled as Social Democrats, and that 13,000 Roman Catholics had deserted Chancellor Seipel, head of the Christian Social Party.

**HOLLAND**—Jonkheer Belaerts van Blokland, Foreign Minister, was the first member of the League Assembly to bring up the important question of disarmament. He declared at the opening meeting on Sept. 6 that moral and practical disarmament was not only the prime mission of the League but also a subject now absorbing the thought of the whole world. Therefore the spirit of the Geneva protocol should be brought up to date in the form of new resolutions to be adopted by the Assembly.

The Dutch Parliament was opened on Sept. 20 by Queen Wilhelmina. The speech from the throne stated that the country's capacity for agricultural production was increasing but that trade and industry were still experiencing great difficulties; that the financial situation demanded care, as heavy taxation retarded the revival of prosperity and the extension of opportunities for work.

# The New Spanish Assembly

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE outstanding event in Spain during the last month was the summoning, after repeated delays and much discussion, of a national assembly to meet on Oct. 10. It is significant that the decree providing for this assembly was signed by the King on Sept. 12, the eve of the anniversary of the coup d'état of 1923. According to the preamble the idea of such an assembly has been under consideration since the first months of the present régime, but had to be put off. The assembly is to consist of some 360 members, including both men and women, married or single, nominated directly or indirectly by the Government. Married women will have to have the permission of their husbands, who must not themselves be members, in order to qualify for seats. There are to be three main sections: (1) Representatives of the State, the provinces and the municipalities; (2) those of professions and business men; (3) those of the Patriotic Union and the men who signed the so-called plebiscite of last year in which some 8,000,000 Spaniards were said to have voted in support of the Government. These classes include fifty general directors and Presidents of consultative councils, fifty Presidents of provincial councils, fifty representatives of municipal councils, fifty Presidents of provincial committees of the Patriotic Union, and thirty representatives of the universities, the clergy, the army, chambers of commerce and other institutions. The rest of the seats will be filled by experts and others chosen by the Government for special reasons.

The functions of this new assembly are strictly limited. It is to have no legislative or administrative authority, but to be purely consultative. Part of its work will be to study and report upon all decrees submitted to it by the Government, members also having the right to submit schemes of their own, the Government, however, retaining the exclusive right of decision and action. Its most important task will be to draft a new Constitution. To this end it is called on to study present economic conditions. In order to facilitate its work it is to be divided into twenty sections or committees,

which will meet three times a week. It will also sit as a whole five times a month, from October to the end of July. Regulations provide for salaries fixed at 30 pesetas per session for Madrid members, and 60 pesetas for provincial members for general meetings of the assembly, and 30 pesetas for committee meetings. To expel any member from his seat a three-fourths majority is necessary. It is announced that the sittings will be in public, and that members will have absolute liberty of expression of their ideas and opinions. According to the present decree the life of the assembly extends to July, 1930. The King has the sole authority to shorten or lengthen the term.

By signing the decree convoking the assembly the King has definitely given his support to Premier Primo de Rivera against the former political leaders who opposed such an organization. It is thus a real triumph for the Premier. But as to whether it is actually a step back to constitutional government or only a strengthening of an unconstitutional dictatorship, Spanish opinion is divided. The measure is reported to be approved in general in conservative and clerical circles, and especially by the Patriotic Union and its organ, *La Nación*, its supporters naturally stressing the achievements of the Premier in the direction of peace and order.

According to the Premier himself the new assembly marks a period of necessary transition to the time when the country will be capable of governing itself.

On the other hand, Señor Sanchez Guerra, the aged leader of the old Conservative Party, denounced the calling of the assembly in unmeasured terms. On the point of withdrawing from Spain in a voluntary exile of protest, he issued a manifesto in which he repeated his previous warning to the King against the dangers of endeavoring to return to an absolute monarchy.

The Government, while maintaining that the censorship had been moderate and had contributed to the general tranquillity, did make a concession by issuing, in connection with the decree for the assembly, a decree granting amnesty to persons punished for

offenses against press laws—a proof, according to the preamble, of the Government's "regard and affection" for the press. It applies to all offenders except those convicted of publishing obscene or defamatory statements.

In international relations Spain remains outside the League of Nations, and according to Premier Primo de Rivera, who has little faith in that organization, is not eager to return.

## ITALY

THE trial of Filippo Turati, ex-Deputy and former leader of the Socialist Party in Italy, together with ten alleged accomplices, took place at Savona during the last month. It was notable on account of the prominence of the chief defendant and the frankness with which he and several of the others involved assailed the Fascist régime. Signor Turati, as narrated in the October CURRENT HISTORY, was indicted for having left the country without a passport, and the others for having aided and abetted him. His escape was effected on board a motor boat, procured with the help of his friends, in which he reached Corsica. From Corsica he went to Paris, where he has since been living. His defense, which he set forth at length in a memorandum sent to the judges, was that he could not live in Italy free from Fascist

molestation, and that he had fled only after he had tried in vain to secure a passport. At the same time he took upon himself the full responsibility for his action, and declared that he alone was guilty. At the trial Signor Rosselli, one of his chief co-defendants, while attempting to save Signor Turati by taking the entire blame, maintained nevertheless that the real blame lay upon Fascism. "The responsibility for my crime," he declared in an impassioned appeal, "belongs to Fascism alone." Another of the accused, protesting that his war record was evidence of his patriotism, asserted that he had never been a Socialist, that his opposition to Fascism was on moral grounds alone, and closed his declaration with the words: "The Fascist régime in sentencing us will honor us." The court, however, saw in the matter only violation of the law and pronounced seven of the eleven guilty, sentencing six of them, including Signor Turati, to ten months each in prison and the seventh to a slightly longer term. It is to be noted that these sentences were comparatively mild, especially in view of the denunciations of Fascism made by the accused and the fact that the prosecutor had originally asked for five years' imprisonment and a 20,000 lire fine for each of the principal defendants.

A fourth child, a son, was added to the family of Premier Mussolini on Sept. 27, and was christened Romano.

## EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

### The Ebb and Flow of Balkan Politics

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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EFFORTS to bring about a renewal of friendly relations between the two leading Slavonic groups in the Balkans—the Yugoslavs and the Bulgarians—were reported during September to have proceeded as far as conferences preliminary to a treaty of friendship. "Time," says *The Central European Observer* editorially, "has now eliminated a good deal of the natural bitterness between these two kindred nations that resulted from the Balkan War and the Great War, in which they fought on opposite sides. The attempts to bring about a reconciliation have been pursued for the past few years with admir-

able energy, notably by leading literary men and intellectual circles on both sides and recently the question of a rapprochement between the two countries has been receiving the close attention of politicians."

Rumors indicating that a prompt and easy settlement is to be expected are, no doubt, unfounded. The difficulties to be overcome and the problems to be solved are far too numerous and intricate. The statement attributed to King Boris of Bulgaria that he was prepared to resign his throne if by so doing he could promote the unity of the South Slavs, was almost certainly never made. Yet, in addition to the general



fact, of indubitable significance, that the question has now become one for politicians and not merely intellectuals to talk about, there are certain recent events which give the situation a new face. One of these was the appointment early this year of a pronounced Bulgarophil, in the person of M. Ljuba Nesic, to be Yugoslav Minister at Sofia. Another was the recent audience of a prominent Yugoslav statesman, Dr. Korosec, with King Boris. Yet another was the still more recent publication in *The Sofia Mir* (the organ of the Bulgarian Foreign Office) of a leading article seriously suggesting a federation, on terms of equality, of all the South Slav countries—Serbia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia and the rest.

On Sept. 22 the Yugoslav Minister, M. Nesic, presented a note from his Government to the Bulgarian Foreign Office demanding an investigation of the renewed activities of bands of Macedonian *comitadji* against Serbians which had culminated a few days previously in the wrecking of a Yugoslav train traveling between Saloniki and Belgrade. An indication of a generally improved situation was the fact that both Belgrade and Sofia had ceased to regard frontier incidents of this character as having necessarily been officially inspired and the note in question frankly said that Belgrade understood that the act did not have the sanction of the Sofia Government. Nevertheless, the offenders, it was pointedly observed, were Bulgarian subjects and the categorical statement was volunteered that if Bulgaria wants better relations with Yugoslavia the *comitadji* must be held in check. The note ended with a threat that Yugoslavia would halt all treaty negotiations unless Sofia acted immediately.

New troubles arose barely two weeks later. Brigadier General Kovachevich, one of the ablest strategists of the Serbian army, was assassinated by Bulgarian *comitadji* at Istip, Yugoslavia, on Oct. 6. The incident caused widespread excitement as the culmination of a series of offenses. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in districts bordering on Bulgaria. On Oct. 7 two more attacks by *comitadji* were reported from Yugoslav frontier posts, which increased the feeling in Belgrade that the Bulgarian Government should at least take steps to discipline the offenders.

The Macedonian subjects of both States, indeed, are giving trouble. Those who remained to Bulgaria after the Great Powers had drawn the post-war map are restless and uncontrollable, and those within the bounds of Yugoslavia no less so. Since 1918 the Belgrade authorities have been trying hard to "Serbize" these people. They have forbidden Bulgar schools and have substituted Serb for Bulgar clergy. They rule with a high hand, "make" the elections and seek to give the appearance of a complete assimilation. When challenged on the score that their policies run counter to the minority clauses of the treaty of Neuilly they reply that the Slavs of Macedonia are not really Bulgars, that their dialects, which must be distinguished from the literary language learned in propagandist schools, are as much Serb as Bulgar, that their past pro-Bulgar attitude was dictated as much by fear of the secret societies as by affection for Bulgaria and that to reopen schools and churches to Bulgarian teaching would simply put the discredited Bolshevik International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization on its feet again.

## OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

THE foreign ministers of the Little Entente held a conference at Geneva on Sept. 3-4 at which the general situation in the Balkans was discussed, Lord Rothermere's sensational proposal for a revision of the peace treaties was considered and the various decisions of the Geneva World Economic Conference were reviewed. The ministers agreed that there was no reason for the Little Entente to take official cognizance of Lord Rothermere's proposal.

**POLAND**—During the period under review the dictatorial authority of Marshal Pilsudski in Poland was both more arbitrarily used and more openly flouted

than ever before and the political situation at Warsaw became unusually tense. The issue between the dictator and the forces that seek his overthrow, i. e., the Liberals and the Socialists, was brought to a head by events attending an extraordinary session of Parliament on Sept. 19-20. Some months previously Parliament made an attempt to free itself from the prevailing dictatorship, but was frustrated when Premier Bartel brought into play a clause of the Constitution giving him and the President power to prorogue a session at any time. Taking advantage, however, of another paragraph of the Constitution which says that Parliament must be convened

whenever a demand is signed by a certain number of Deputies, the Opposition forced the President to call the extraordinary session of last month. Realizing that he faced his bitterest fight since the May revolution of 1926, the dictator countered with still another provision of the Constitution stating that Parliament cannot legally begin its labors until a formal decree permitting it to do so has been issued by the President and he made it clear that the decree would not be signed until the Senate and Sejm had pledged themselves not to discuss anything at the coming session except the third quarter budget.

On the 19th the Sejm convened at the capital and forthwith threw down the gauntlet by entering upon the consideration of forbidden subjects. On the same day the Marshal rushed from his Summer home near Vilna to Warsaw to save his position. Learning from Premier Bartel what had been done, he ordered the Sejm marshal, Raty, to strike several motions (including one expressing lack of confidence) from the program for the ensuing day. Further scrutiny of the situation, however, led to a still more drastic decision, and when the Sejm reassembled on the afternoon of the 20th it was only to be met with a decree, read by Premier Bartel, adjourning the session for thirty days.

**YUGOSLAVIA**—Elections to the Skupshchina were held throughout Yugoslavia on Sept. 11. The former Parliament was dissolved by King Alexander last June in order to end, if possible, the inter-party strife among the Radicals and to save the Vukitchevitch Radical-Coalition ministry. The elections passed off without incident, but the campaign was a heated one, with the effect of further dividing the Coalition, each party within it tending to split into at least two or three factions. On paper the Government came off, however, reasonably well. The Radicals lost some seats, but with 112 are nearly twice as strong as the next most numerous party, the Democrats, with 61. These groups, together with a small number of Bosnian Moslems, constitute the Government majority—a total of 190 seats in a house of 315. It was expected also that the Slovene Clericals, numbering 21, would collaborate. Few changes were recorded in the distribution of Opposition seats. The Croatian party of Stephan Raditch lost seven deputies and the leader himself was defeated in his home constituency, though securing election in a Dalmatian-Bosnian district. The Socialists got only one seat and the Communists, while increasing their vote throughout the country, were unable to elect a deputy.

#### NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

### Progress in Sweden

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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**T**HE abolition of capital punishment in Sweden has not been followed by an increase in crime, according to Dr. Victor Almqvist, head of the Swedish prison system, who maintains that criminals consider a life sentence a worse punishment than death. Since 1917 the total number of murders and attempts at murder have been but 115, or less than twelve a year.

Sweden invested abroad about 130,000,000 crowns during the first seven months of this year, compared with about 50,000,000 for the corresponding period of last year. The total imports of foreign securities amounted last year to 102,000,000 crowns, about one-half of this sum coming from New York.

Over 64 per cent. of Swedish men and 6 per cent. of the women availed themselves of the right to obtain the "motbok," the official pass book necessary for the purchase of liquor. In 1926 there were 1,102,122 copies of the "motbok" printed.

The total amount of the Nobel Prizes to be distributed this year reaches the sum of \$162,389.10, each of the five winners receiving \$32,478.82. The founder of the Boy Scout movement, General Robert Baden Powell, has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Swedish commercial aviation can proudly point to a record of over a million kilometers of flying with 100 per cent. safety at the termination of the fourth Summer

of regular traffic, during which time more than 30,000 passengers have been carried.

Old age invalidity pensions amounting to 45,000,000 crowns were paid out during last year to 345,000 persons under the general compulsory insurance system of Sweden, according to the official report of the Royal Pensions Board.

Charged with libelling Benito Mussolini, Allan Vought, editor of the radical Swedish labor paper *Arbetet*, was acquitted by a jury. Although he called the Italian dictator an "idiot" and a danger to peace, Vought defended himself by pointing at epithets freely bestowed upon the Soviet leaders, claiming he had not exceeded the limits of international courtesy.

**NORWAY**—Halvard Huitfeldt-Bachke was recently appointed Minister to the United States, and will assume his post in November.

**DENMARK**—The Government Sobriety Commission, which has been studying the prohibition problem for more than ten years, has issued a report in which six members favor a plebiscite if it is demanded by a sufficient number of voters, and nine are against any scheme of prohibition. The Government, however, is not bound to follow the recommendations of the commission.

**FINLAND**—The election of Finland as a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations for 1928 is described elsewhere in these pages.

Finnish dockers struck on Sept. 21 in protest against the Sacco-Vanzetti executions.

**LITHUANIA**—A revolt of members of the radical parties against the Valdemaras Government, which threatened for a time to assume serious proportions, broke out on Sept. 10 in the town of Tauroggen. The rebels, headed by a former staff officer, Captain Majus, whom the Government had cashiered for Communist activities, disarmed the police, occupied the military barracks, and stole large sums of money. Government troops soon dispersed them, however, and wholesale arrests and sentences followed. Six students were executed on Sept. 14 and sixteen imprisoned for life. Captain Majus escaped.

Relations between Poland and Lithuania continued somewhat strained over the Vilna question. On Oct. 5 the Poles arrested twenty Lithuanians in Vilna and closed forty-three schools as a measure of retaliation against alleged harsh treatment of the Poles in Lithuania. However, a statement made by Premier Valdemaras in the London *Times* of Sept. 17, asserted that the next move on the Vilna question must come from Poland, as Lithuania had declared her readiness to negotiate.

A treaty of friendship and arbitration and a trade agreement between Italy and Lithuania were signed on Sept. 18 by Premiers Mussolini and Valdemaras.

**LATVIA**—A Russo-Latvian flax convention which gives the signatories, as the two principal flax-producing countries of the world, control of the international market, was concluded during September.

#### THE SOVIET UNION

## Trotsky Expelled From International

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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**S**TALIN, recognized head of the group in control of the Soviet Government, was asked by the American Trade Union delegation, which visited Russia this Summer, to give his views with regard to "the best basis for a peaceful agreement with the capitalists." The reply which he made may well be taken as an expression of the desires of the present ruling faction in Russia:

We need equipment, raw materials and partly manufactured goods. The capitalists need to sell all these. That is the first basis for an agreement. The capitalists need timber, oil, grain, and we need to sell these. We need credits, and capital needs good interest. It is well known that the Soviets are the most exact payers.

In the diplomatic field we are directing our policy toward peace and are ready to sign non-aggression pacts with the bourgeois Governments; ready, too, to come to terms regarding disarmament, once stand-



ing armies have been abolished. We said this at Geneva, and I say it again now. That is the basis for diplomatic agreements. Such understandings, of course, are inevitably limited by the contradictory characters of our respective systems, which compete in a struggle for mastery.

Within the limits thus imposed agreements can, however, be reached, as witness the cases of Italy, Japan and Germany. Can such agreements be maintained? That depends not only on us, but on our cosignatories and on the general situation. War might upset everything. All depends on the conditions of the agreement. We cannot accept enslaving conditions.

We have agreements with the Harrimans in manganese and with Japan for the exploiting of Sakhalin coal and oil, and we should like to see these agreements prove lasting.

This statement appears to be the straight thinking of a practical man of affairs; and yet it does not mention the most serious obstacle in the way of an enduring agreement between Communist Russia and the capitalistic Powers. That obstacle is the Third International, which, notwithstanding all professions to the contrary, is interwoven with the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It may be that Stalin does not fully appreciate this fact, for, in reply to a question from one of the American delegates, he said that, although the Russian Communist Party had never given direct assistance to the American Communist Party, the Third International presumably did so whenever it thought necessary. It does not seem likely, however, that Stalin has not been plainly told of the attitude of American capitalists toward the Communist Party in the United States and that he is not able to appreciate the effect of such an attitude upon negotiations for the establishment of relations between the American and Soviet Governments. Evidence has been given to support the belief that Stalin is fully aware of the difficult situation created by the Third International, and that he would try to get rid of it, if he could, without losing his hold upon the Soviet Government at the same time. The fiery Zinoviev, who was clamoring for the immediate beginning of the "world revolution," was removed from the head of the Third International. In his place appeared Bukharin, a close associate of Stalin, who, to be sure, made speeches calculated to satisfy ardent Communists at home, but who also declared significantly that the "world revolution" would have to be delayed indefinitely on account of the stability of the capitalistic Powers. It is decidedly relevant to emphasize the fact that one of the cardinal points in the

case of the "Opposition," led by Trotsky, against the "Administration," dominated by Stalin, is the charge that the cause of "world revolution" is being stealthily deserted by the Soviet Government under the direction of Stalin and his associates.

On Sept. 30 a dispatch from Moscow announced that Trotsky and one of his chief aids, Vuyovich, had been ousted from the Executive Committee of the Third International, "because of their violent struggle against the organization by means of underground printing plants, coupled with organizing illegal centres and inciting malicious slander against Soviet Russia abroad." At first thought it may seem strange that Trotsky who has talked so vigorously for the "world revolution," should be disciplined by the organization having its existence to work for that very object; but second thought brings the reflection that the Third International is little more than an adjunct of the Communist party in Russia, and that Stalin must have a strong grip upon the political machinery of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government was also faced by the threat of monarchist plots and espionage. The Supreme Military Court of Leningrad, on Sept. 24, sentenced four young Russian noblemen to death, without right of appeal, for belonging to a monarchist organization and for entering Soviet territory under arms to commit terrorist outrages and to spy for foreign Powers. The fifth was acquitted of terrorism and espionage, but found guilty of entering the country armed as a monarchist courier, and sentenced to ten years' solitary confinement. Alexander Balmassov, a captain in Wrangel's White Army, and Alexander Solsky, grandson of a former President of the Czarist Council of State, pleaded guilty on all the charges against them. Nicholas Stroeiev, son of a former Colonel, and Vassili Samilov, an officer in Yudenich's army, admitted that they were members of a monarchist society and that they had crossed the frontier under arms to oppose the Soviet régime and to spy, but denied that they had received instructions to commit bombing outrages. Alfred von Adderkass, son of an old President of the Zemstvo, declared that he was guilty only of entering the country under arms and of being a member of a monarchist society, but unaware that he was employed as a courier in behalf of the Latvian Secret Service.

The counsel for the Soviet Government endeavored to show before the court that



European territory of the Soviet Union

the defendants had been involved in the bombing of the Communist meeting in Leningrad on June 7 and the plot to blow up the headquarters of the "Ogpu," the Soviet secret police, in Moscow; that they were members of the counter-revolutionary organization of Grand Duke Nicholas, centred in Paris; and that there was a close connection between their activities and the

massov, it was said, admitted further that he had been ordered to blow up a Communist meeting in Kiev and the editorial offices of the Communist Party organs, and to try to destroy factories, because they were "the real strategic point of attack on the Soviet front." He said that he had been paid 1,600 marks a month from the headquarters of Grand Duke Nicholas in



Asiatic territory of the Soviet Union

alleged operations of the British Secret Service in Russia. According to the report released from Moscow, Balmassov, the most important defendant, declared under cross-examination that all the terrorist groups, including those which bombed the Communist meeting in Leningrad and attempted to destroy the headquarters of the Ogpu in Moscow, had received aid from Colonel Rosenstern, chief of the special intelligence section of the General Staff of Finland; that General Kutieпов, a lieutenant of Grand Duke Nicholas, had ordered the bombing outrages when it became evident that ordinary propaganda against the Soviet Government had failed. Kutieпов was quoted as having said at a secret meeting in Finland on Feb. 27: "The problem is to make a noise and thus get credits from the British and other secret services, and so get others inside Russia to follow our example and commit further outrages." Bal-

Paris for carrying counter-revolutionary literature into Soviet territory, and that Colonel Rosenstern had given him 2,000 marks on each trip for espionage.

Before the court retired to consider its verdict the defendants pleaded for clemency on the ground that they had repented. The court, however, passed sentence without regard for the pleas for mercy. A petition for reprieve was telegraphed to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government in Moscow, but there was little assurance to be had that it would be granted.

After eleven weeks of discussion the issue created by the assassination of the Soviet Minister Voikov, in Warsaw, was closed on Sept. 1 with the announcement of an understanding acceptable to both Poland and the Soviet Union. The episode, it was intimated, had opened the way for a treaty of non-aggression and a commercial agreement.



## OTHER EVENTS OF THE MONTH

**A**FTER the exchange of views between Sir Henri Deterding, head of the Royal Dutch-Shell interests, and Mr. Saul G. Bron, Chairman of "Amtorg," the Soviet trading corporation in New York, with regard to the curtailment of the domestic consumption of oil products by the Soviet Government in order to sell in foreign markets, the controversy over Soviet oil entered a new phase. Cable dispatches brought the report that Stalin had expressed his willingness to have a disinterested commission or court pass upon the claims of the oil companies which had suffered losses from the nationalization of industry in Russia resulting from the Bolshevik revolution. Taking up that idea, Sir Henri Deterding announced through his offices in New York that he would submit to the decision of the International Court, either at The Hague or Geneva, provided that Stalin would obligate himself to abide by and to help execute the decision of the court. Mr. Bron thereupon announced that he had been authorized to say that Stalin had never made the statement attributed to him.

In the course of the discussion which followed the report of the overture, Deterding's proposal, and Bron's denial, very interesting statements found their way into the newspapers as undisputed facts. It was stated that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey owns a majority of the stock of Nobel's, the largest oil-producing company in Russia prior to the nationalization of industry, and that it had acquired this interest after the Bolshevik Government had

made the petroleum industry national property. The Royal Dutch-Shell companies were said to have had the next largest producing interests in the Russian oil fields before they were confiscated by the Government. The Vacuum Oil Company—a member of the Standard group—had large oil-refining interests in Russia, and the Standard Oil Company of New York also had some property seized by the Government. According to a persistent report, these two American companies, as the result of their recent agreements with the Soviet Government, obtained the promise that the question of confiscation would soon be reopened. It was also declared that these agreements for the purchase of oil provided for the setting aside by the Soviet Government of 5 per cent. of the amount paid for oil as a fund to be available "when and if" the claims of foreign countries are recognized.

At Washington the report that France and the Soviet Union were approaching an agreement with regard to Russia's debts raised the query whether or not such a settlement would constitute a precedent, and perhaps an incentive, for negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Department of State, however, declared emphatically that there was no apparent reason for deviating from the policy which Hughes announced to Chicherin in December, 1923. In Moscow, on the other hand, a "high authority in the Soviet Foreign Office" declared the willingness of the Soviet Government to settle legitimate American claims.

## TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

## Problems of Zionism

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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**T**HE British mandate over Palestine provided for the control of the Jewish immigration, the settlement of Jews on public land, the use of Hebrew as an official language, and the recognition of the Zionist organization as a Jewish agency, which cooperates with the British administration in matters concerning Jewish interests. Under the new régime the Jewish population of Palestine increased from about

55,000 at the lowest ebb during the World War, to 158,000 at the end of 1926, that is, from less than 10 per cent. of the population to approximately 20 per cent. During the past ten years various Jewish organizations have spent approximately \$50,000,000 in the country. About 130,000 acres of land are under cultivation by 9,000 of the settlers. Some 25,000 Jewish workers live in the towns.

Two classes of immigrants have been encouraged, those with means, who usually engage in business, and those who require some assistance, and for whom Palestine is a land of refuge and opportunity. During 1925 and 1926 51 per cent. of the immigrants came from Poland, 17 per cent. from Russia and 5 per cent. from Rumania, as against 3.7 per cent. from the United States. A large proportion of the three-fourths who come from Eastern Europe are socialistically inclined, as was illustrated by the fact that of fourteen delegates elected to the Fifteenth Zionist Congress, ten were from socialistic groups, while two were Revisionists and two were General Zionists.

In view of the continuing economic depression in Palestine, it was natural that strong differences of opinion as to policy should reveal themselves at this Congress, which was held at Basle from Aug. 30 to Sept. 12. Two hundred and eighty delegates were present, including forty from America. Nahum Sokolow was selected President. Doctor Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization recommended

A slow but steady march forward. . . . The underlying principle of our attitude is complete confidence in the mandatory Power. The Palestine Government has of late taken a more active part in the efforts to rebuild the Jewish National Home. It has helped in ameliorating the condition of the unemployed. It recently promulgated the Palestine Communities Ordinance, which secures a cultural and religious autonomy to the Jewish communities; it has promulgated ordinances regulating industry and has increased its allotment for the Hebrew school system. We expect to ask the Government to adopt a similar policy with regard to the health work carried on in Palestine by Zionist agencies. The problem of heavy taxation imposed by the Palestine Government, which has caused considerable criticism among Zionists, is expected to be solved satisfactorily.

On the second day serious criticisms were advanced against Dr. Weizmann's administration and against the British policy in Palestine. Dr. Stephen S. Wise declared as follows:

It is the duty of Zionist leadership to urge the mandatory Power to take a greater part in facilitating the creation of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, a duty directly imposed upon this Power by the provisions of the mandate granted to it by the League of Nations. The opening of the door of Palestine for Jewish activity is not sufficient for the creation of a Jewish National Home.

On Sept. 6 a member of the political Committee, of which Dr. Wise was chairman, proposed a resolution to authorize a

special committee, headed by Dr. Wise, "to consider the relations between the mandatory Power and the Zionist Organization, and to direct an inquiry into the attitude of the Palestine Government toward the Jewish National Home idea." Dr. Weizmann declared that the adoption of this proposal would mean an expression of lack of confidence in his leadership. Another member of the Political Committee stated that the resolution was presented without the knowledge and authorization of the American Delegation. This statement was subsequently withdrawn. Dr. Wise, however, presented his resignation from the Political Committee and the American delegation and left the Congress.

In its later sessions the Congress continued its support of Dr. Weizmann, thereby approving his policy of cooperation with the British Administration, and his agreement with Mr. Lewis Marshall upon a joint agency through which non-Zionist Jews in America are to cooperate financially with Zionists in the Palestinian work. The budget for the next two years was fixed at \$3,160,000 per year. Dr. Wise was elected a Vice President. The Zionist Executive in Palestine was voted to consist of Colonel F. H. Kisch, Mr. Harry Sacher and Miss Henrietta Szold, thus containing for the first time none but English-speaking members.

Prior to the meeting of the Congress a Conference on Jewish Rights was held at Zurich from Aug. 17 to 20, with sixty delegates in attendance. It provided for the creation of a new body, the Council on the Rights of Jewish Minorities, to be elected biennially by a World Conference, and to have its seat in Geneva. Protests were received concerning the treatment of Jews in Rumania and in Soviet Russia. The Basle Congress at its last session, Sept. 12, passed a strong resolution in which it protested "against the inhuman persecutions directed against all parts of the Zionist movement, aiming at the destruction of the Jewish national sentiment. The Congress requests the Soviet Government to release the arrested prisoners and to end the persecutions."

Mr. Amery, British Colonial Secretary, in an address to representatives of the Jewish Community in Johannesburg, South Africa, on Sept. 9, stated that:

The British Administration in Palestine, while anxious not to offend the susceptibilities or prejudice the interests of any section of the population; while bound to take into consideration, day by day, all practical administrative difficulties—which one saw

only when one was actually inside the Administration—was still absolutely sincere and loyal in its determination to fulfil in the spirit and the letter the pledges given in Lord Balfour's name in 1917 and repeated

again in the mandate, and conscientiously carried out by every one who had either held office in the British Government or who had worked in a responsible position in the administration of Palestine.

## OTHER EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

**TURKEY**—President Mustapha Kemal Pasha prepared a plan to break the world's record by delivering a speech, on the history and accomplishments of the Nationalist Turks from 1918 to 1923, before the new session of the Grand National Assembly, of a length estimated at 400,000 words. All Deputies were instructed to be present in Angora on Oct. 14, and the speech was designed to occupy the four following days. The speech was to be broadcast.

During September an incident which threatened to have grave results embittered the relations between the Turks and the Jews who reside in the republic. A young Jewish girl was murdered by an elderly Turkish suitor whose attentions she had refused. While her funeral procession was traversing the streets an obstruction occurred, and some of the followers cried, "We want justice." They were incensed because the murderer, instead of being brought to trial, was sent to a hospital for the insane. A number of the Jews were arrested, and the Turkish Government issued an order forbidding Jews to travel in Anatolia. A bitter controversy raged in the press. The Jews were tried and acquitted on Sept. 22, after which the situation became calmer.

During the year 1926, 926 passenger boats of foreign registry left Constantinople, showing an increase of 5 per cent. over the previous year; 394 were Italian, 178 Rumanian, 158 French and 96 English. The number of passengers transported was about 29,000, showing a decrease of 27 per cent., chiefly due to the law which went into effect July 1, 1926, according to which all coastwise trade must be under the Turkish flag.

**EGYPT**—A committee of the Wafd or Delegations Party, meeting to consider what line of action might best be followed after the death of their great leader, Saad Pasha Zaghlul, announced on Sept. 14, after a five-hour session, that complete union existed between its members, and that they had decided to work according to the principles of Zaghlul Pasha and to maintain the coalition of parties which he had founded. On Sept. 26 Mus-

tapha Pasha Nahas, a former Vice President of the Chamber, was unanimously elected leader of the party.

**PERSIA**—W. B. Poland, the new American Director-General of Railways, is reported to have consented to become Administrator-General of the Finances, succeeding Dr. A. C. Millspaugh.

A new party has been formed in Persia under the name of Irani Noh, or New Persians. Its organization resembles that of the Italian Fascists, and it is said to have the approval of the Shah.

A long-standing controversy between Persia and Russia as regards the terms of commercial intercourse was settled on Oct. 2 by the conclusion of five agreements covering this question and guaranteeing neutrality and mutual non-aggression. The Soviet Government has maintained for eighteen months an embargo upon the imports of Persian goods into Russia, while fishing rights in the Caspian Sea have been in dispute much longer. Moreover, for nearly twenty-five years Persia has had reason to complain of injustice as regards tariffs.

**THE HEDJAZ**—Ratifications were exchanged at Jeddah on Sept. 17 of a treaty signed on May 20 between representatives of Great Britain and of the Hedjaz and Nejd. In it Great Britain recognizes the "complete and absolute independence of the Hedjaz, Nejd and dependencies." Mutual guarantees of good relations, with regard particularly to the treatment of pilgrims, were exchanged. Most important, "the King of Hedjaz undertakes to cooperate by all the means at his disposal with his Britannic Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade."

**TRANSJORDANIA**—It was announced in September that a draft treaty had been drawn up between England and Transjordan, to be observed in the first instance for two years. Transjordan will be recognized as an independent country under the Emir Abdullah, and the succession will belong to his son, the Emir Talal. The Emir is to be the head of all powers, executive, legislative, judicial and military.



# Japan Stirs China by New Manchurian Policy

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;  
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

FOLLOWING the announcement by Premier Tanaka of Japan, who continued also to hold the post of Foreign Minister, that his Government would inaugurate more "positive" policies than those of his predecessor, both in domestic and foreign relations, apprehension was expressed in Chinese circles of all sections of the country and shades of political faith lest this portended the break-down of former Foreign Minister Shidehara's attitude of conciliation toward China.

These fears appeared to have some justification when the Premier stated his determination to coordinate the administrative arrangements of Japan in Manchuria. These include the Japanese Consuls, the military establishment, the civil government of the leased territory, called Kwantung, at the southern tip of Manchuria, and the South Manchurian railway administration. Diplomatic and military matters were to be more closely correlated, the civil Governor was to confine his supervision to local administrative routine, while the railway directorate was to become, to an even greater extent than hitherto, a quasi-governmental agency, similar in nature to the old British East India Company or the existing British South Africa Company, having full control over all municipal, educational and financial matters in the railway zone and acting as the principal representative of the Japanese Government in Manchuria. Mr. J. Yamamoto, the new President of the South Manchurian, appointed by Tanaka, explained the purpose of the reorganization as follows: "The fundamental object is to open up Manchuria and Mongolia. \*\*\* If we pursue this object the increase of exports to 600,000,000-700,000,000 yen and of imports up to 400,000,000-500,000,000 yen will be a matter of no distant future."

The significance of the move lay in the desire of Japan to extend her Manchurian and Inner Mongolian enterprises more widely—these including railway-building, mining, agricultural and forestry development—and to make use of the very successful railway organization for this purpose. Immigration into Manchuria from other parts of China is rapidly increasing, new lands are being settled and new railways are

needed as well as all sorts of construction work and other pioneer requirements. Japan desires to take full advantage of the opportunities thus offered and to continue in expanded form her remarkable developmental activities in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. The reorganization announcement was accompanied by the following notification of the Premier: "Japan's China policy has hitherto been governed by her preference to deal with the Central Chinese Government, but in view of the hopelessness of such desires under existing conditions in China, greater importance will in future be attached to local Chinese Governments. Greater stress will be laid on the importance of maintaining Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia. Likewise, greater efforts than before will be made for the country's economic expansion in South China, as well as in North China and Manchuria."

This statement in turn was followed by the opening of negotiations in Peking between Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister, and Yang Yu-ting, the Foreign Minister in the Government of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who recently assumed the title of "Generalissimo" or "Dictator." The negotiations were designed by Japan to accomplish a number of objects, particularly to impress upon China and foreign States Japan's intention to continue to regard Manchuria and Inner Mongolia as her sphere of influence and interest, within which her interests must take precedence over those of all other States, even of China.

The subject of most pressing importance to Japan was the railway situation. Japanese investments in Manchurian railways are extensive, since they include not only the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden lines, in which a heavy majority interest is held by the Japanese Government, but the loans advanced on railway building contracts for the Ssuningkai-Chengchiatun-Taonan line, the Taonan-Tsitsihar line, the Changchun-Kirin line and several less important lines. The South Manchurian Railway is now building other lines in Manchuria on contract for Chinese Governments. With the intensification of

national feeling Japan is apprehensive for the security of these investments. Recently another bogey has arisen to plague her—the beginning of railway building by Chinese officials using Chinese capital and Chinese engineers. The provincial Governors in Manchuria have found that railroads may be built quite profitably if they buy up the anticipated right of way, run the lines within a mile or two of towns, thereby raising land values, and use the unearned increments from land sales to finance the roads. This development Japan has welcomed until it led to larger projects which threaten to parallel the South Manchurian Railway and possibly to compete with it. Two such lines are now under construction—one from Mukden to Kirin via Hailungcheng, the other from Takushan, on the Peking-Mukden line north to Chengchiatun via Changwu and Payantala.

These larger projects, Japan insists, must not be completed beyond the point where they will serve merely as feeders for the South Manchurian Railway. She affirms that, if completed, they would contravene her treaty of 1905 with China, by which, Japan contends, China engaged: "not to construct \* \* \* any main line in the neighborhood of and parallel to that railway [the South Manchurian Railway], or any branch line which might be prejudicial to the interest of the above-mentioned rail-

way." This provision occurs in a secret protocol attached to the treaty and in 1908 its validity was denied by the representative of China who signed the treaty. That official, Tang Shao-yi, declared that such a provision had been discussed but not agreed upon. In either case the entire settlement was forced upon China.

Regarding the evidences of Premier Tanaka's program the Nanking Press Bureau of the Nationalist Government asserted that they revealed "emphatically that the Japanese Government under General Tanaka's régime is audacious enough to regard Manchuria as Japan's exclusive colony and that the next step for Japan to take would be the seizure of Manchuria and a part of Mongolia." In Mukden, capital of Manchuria, the popular feeling was one of resentment which expressed itself in parades and speeches. In the older portion of the city, however, a Japanese police officer attached to the Consulate was mobbed and wounded when he sought to have an anti-Japanese poster removed from a wall. In the city of Kirin, northeast of Mukden, public bodies wired Peking to discontinue negotiations, denouncing Japan's program as militaristic. When Dictator Chang Tso-lin sent an emissary to quiet the people the opposition included him in the denunciations. Meanwhile the building of the Chinese trunk lines proceeded.

## OTHER EVENTS IN CHINA

**A** DRIVE toward Peking by the combined forces of General Feng Yuhsiang (the "Christian General") and General Yen Hsi-shan, Military Governor of Shansi Province, began on Oct. 3. The armies penetrated as far as Kalgan and Paoting-fu, but as this article went to press it was reported that their advance had been stopped by the forces of Marshal Chang Tso-lin. There were persistent rumors that the offensive had been inspired by promises of Red support.

The aftermath of the resignation of General Chiang Kai-shek, the able young leader of the campaign of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party against the Peking group and its supporters, which occurred on Aug. 8 last, was a general exhaustion and scattering attempts at reorganization of the broken lines of the Nationalist movement. General Chiang returned from his home to Shanghai and sailed for Japan, where he was reported to be supporting a large retinue and to be in cordial contact with the Tanaka Cabinet,

though his announced purpose was to win the consent of Mme. Soong, mother of the recent Mme. Sun Yat-sen, to his proposal of marriage with her daughter, Miss Mei-ling Soong, a graduate of Wellesley. He was said to be hopeful of dispelling misunderstandings between Japan and the Chinese Nationalists. Miss Soong declared her readiness to marry General Chang.

Efforts to reunite the various elements within the Nationalist circle were but slightly successful. Communist leaders on the Left and militarists on the Right were willing to leave the offices to the moderates in the Centre, but the offices carried little or no authority. General Tang Seng-chi was in control at Hankow and as far east as Wuhu on the Yangtse, at least until the end of September, when he was reported as in flight, because of the fall in the value of the paper currency in his area and the closing of the banks with large amounts of valueless paper outstanding. The Hankow civilian administration was entirely dispersed. Michael Borodin, former Russian

adviser to the Kuomintang, was definitely located at Sianfu, capital of Shansi Province, where he was advising General Feng Yu-hsiang. His Russian associate, General Galen, was in Shanghai. Eugene Chen, until recently Foreign Minister of the Hankow Government, was in Moscow, as was Mme. Sun Yat-sen. The marriage of these two, the most able and consistent advocates of the principles of the Kuomintang, was reported from Moscow.

At Nanking a "paper" Government, properly so termed because the actual power lay in a group of Generals not included in the officials on the list, was announced as the fusion of the former antagonistic Hankow and Nanking factions within the Nationalist Party. It was to consist of five men, Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, Tsai Yuan-pei, Tan Yen-kai and Li Lieh-chun, all well-known figures and very able men. In addition seven ministries were created, and posts allotted as follows: C. C. Wu, Foreign Affairs; Sun Fo, Finance; Wang Chung-hui, Justice; Wang Pei-chun, Communications; Tsai Yuan-pei, Education. Two councils, one on education, the other on military affairs, completed the announced organization. A

committee was set up to purge the party leadership of Communists.

At Canton General Li Chai-sum continued in control. His actual strength was still greatly doubted in some quarters. He appeared to be seeking to set up his own régime, independent of the older Nationalist leaders. A forced loan of \$10,000,000 Canton silver was extorted from the merchants to sustain the currency at par. At Swatow, another important port in Kuangtung Province, General Yeh Ting, reported at Peking to be a Communist, obtained control, coming from Kiangsi with 14,000 men. A Japanese destroyer landed sixty bluejackets to protect the Consulate and banks. Factional groups were reported at Hangchow, Nanchang and Shanghai. The Kuomintang held Yunnanfu, capital of Yunnan Province, against heavy attacks.

General Sun Chuan-fang, whose recent efforts to retake Nanking and Shanghai were defeated by the Nationalist armies, retired on Pengpu, north of the Yangtse on the railway to Tientsin. With no help forthcoming General Sun appeared destined for eclipse, since he had no provincial or other important post from which to derive revenues for further campaigning.

## EVENTS IN JAPAN

SPECIAL interest attaches to the prefectural elections which began in Tottori prefecture on Sept. 21 and continued throughout the country over a period of ten days. They constituted the first general test of the manhood suffrage law passed by the Diet in 1925. Although no members were to be elected to the Diet, party lines were drawn as in national elections, and returns were regarded as indicative of probable results when the new law is applied to elections for the lower house of the Diet in 1928. The act increased the electorate from 4,000,000 to 14,000,000, granting the suffrage to all males aged 25 or above.

Japanese newspapers commented sarcastically before the elections upon the preparations being made by the Government to secure the return to the prefectural assemblies of safe majorities for the party in power, the Seiyukai. Quite a number of Governors of prefectures were removed and Seiyukai men appointed, and frequent instructions were sent to them to see that the elections were carried out "successfully." It was even suggested that the more emphatic tone of Premier Tanaka regarding Japanese rights in Manchuria was meant to awaken sympathy for the Seiyukai in the elections.

Films were shown in 325 localities to instruct the newly enfranchised as to how to vote. Incomplete returns were a surprise in that they overturned the well-established tradition of success for the party in office. The Seiyukai was winning, but with reduced majorities, in the assemblies of most of the prefectures. The Minseito, a new party, composed of the older Kenseikai and Seiyuhonto parties, won many new seats. Twenty-seven Labor candidates had been elected after the first week's balloting. Only about half of the electorate voted.

On Sept. 17 it was decided by a number of powerful banks in Japan to establish a new bank, the Showa Bank, for the rehabilitation of a number of banks which failed in the crisis of last April. On the same date Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., accompanied by Jeremiah Smith and Martin Egan, sailed for Japan. In an address at the Tokio Bankers' Club on Oct. 4 Mr. Lamont expressed the belief that Japan had her financial difficulties in hand and was well on the road back to normal conditions. Japan reported an export balance in foreign trade for August of 50,000,000 yen, a rare occurrence in that country's trade.



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Continued from Page xxviii.

put in jeopardy our lives and properties, for Colombia had an army of 100,000 men, 5,000 of whom were already on our borders—quite a different situation from that of 1926. In 1903 the whole country knew the terms of the treaty and decided to approve it. The treaty of 1926 was drawn up amid the greatest secrecy and its terms were not known until the *Heraldo de Cuba* got hold of it and published it against the wishes of both the American and Panaman Governments.

In 1903 our public men were made to believe that the treaty they were going to sign, although unfavorable in some respects to us, would be made easier in practice and that it would be interpreted in the light of friendship and generosity. But we have found out through hard experience that our relations with the United States are based strictly on the provisions of the treaty and that it has been interpreted not in the light of generosity but in the light of cold facts; the United States has never backed out of a supposed right. Naturally we have become distrustful and now do not care to ratify any treaty which in the least endangers our rights in any form. Therefore, the opening words, which Mr. Price quotes, of "that able diplomatic representative of Panama in Washington": "In the same manner that the men of 1903 signed a treaty to assure the political life of the republic the men of 1926 have negotiated another to insure perpetually its economical life," would be more true if they read: "The men of 1903 signed a treaty to assure the political life of the republic. Now, however, some few men of 1926 have signed another to put an end to that republic."

The reasons which made our country unanimously reject the treaty of 1926 are in a few words as follows: (1) We would lose the sovereignty over the Canal Zone, which now is ours. (2) We would lose a part of the City of Colon which is ours, has always been ours and is so declared in treaty of 1903. (3) We would impose on ourselves the obligation to construct roads at an unlimited cost while the United States engages to construct roads which will not exceed \$1,250,000 in cost. (4) We would give to the United States the right to do business in the Canal Zone and to establish there bonded warehouses, a right which the United States was not accorded in the treaty of 1903. (5) We would surrender to the United States the control of aerial navigation and of wireless communications which are our natural rights, and in exchange for what? I imagine that Mr. Price would answer: "In exchange for the independence which you enjoy and we guarantee." What

Continued on Page xxxvi.

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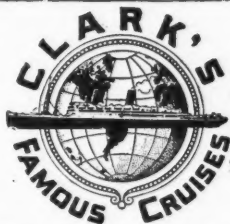
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Continued from Page xxxiv.

price independence! (6) We would obligate ourselves to enter any war if the United States was a belligerent, and we would be forced to do this regardless of our likes and dislikes and passing over our own laws and Constitution and international obligations. Our Constitution declares that the National Assembly must declare war and make peace. The projected treaty of 1926 disregarding this provision of the Constitution is therefore unconstitutional. (7) Our coinage would be limited to \$1,000,000. Mind you, not the amount that our country needs now, or may need in the future, but \$1,000,000, and this for *saecula saeculorum*.

I hope that these reasons will convince you of the great injustice which the rejected treaty of 1926 would entail.

TOMAS A. ARIAS.

City of Panama.

\* \* \*

### INDISPENSABLE

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The indispensables of life are few, but one of them, as far as I am concerned, is *CURRENT HISTORY*.

The Rev. GWILYM DAVIS,  
League of Nations Union.

London, England.

\* \* \*

### A TRIBUTE

To the Editor of *Current History*:

*CURRENT HISTORY* has evolved, in the few years of its existence, into an indispensable source of accurate and up-to-date information, readily available, and I do not hesitate to say that the reading of it is, at the present time, absolutely essential to any man engaged in diplomatic or governmental work, to statesmen, journalists and teachers of history, who endeavor to get a thorough understanding of world-wide events. Having been a reader of *CURRENT HISTORY* since its appearance, it is highly gratifying for me to convey my commendations to its able and distinguished Editorial Board.

CARLOS DAVILA,

The Chilean Ambassador.

Washington, D. C.

\* \* \*

### THE LATIN-AMERICAN ISSUE

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I want to congratulate you for having conceived the idea of a Latin-American number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, for the excellent manner in which you developed it and the very attractive arrangement of what is probably the most remarkable symposium on the subject that has ever appeared in any magazine, newspaper or book. This number of *CURRENT HISTORY* will be a veritable book of the apostles and prophets on the subject to which it is devoted. As Professor Shepherd said at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, "We

have reached the parting of the ways in our relations with Latin America." We must, if we wish to regain and maintain the friendship and good-will of those countries and peoples, determine upon a decidedly different policy from what we have been pursuing for the last seventeen years in the Caribbean Zone.

HORACE G. KNOWLES.

New York City.

\* \* \*

### THE CHINA NUMBER

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The China number of *Current History* is admirable; catholic in its range of topics and in its choice of writers, and informing and stimulating in what it has to say. I doubt if any one in this country is so well acquainted with the present situation in China as to be able safely to neglect what is offered in this issue. Merely as a piece of journalism the job was a happy thought, and I congratulate you on the way in which it has been carried through.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

New York, N. Y.

\* \* \*

The readers of *CURRENT HISTORY* will doubtless value the privilege of reading in this number the dramatic and intensely moving reminiscences of four famous war correspondents of *The New York Times*, reminiscences evoked by the American Legion Convention in Paris ten years after our entrance into the great war. These sketches are not only valuable historical annals but have distinct literary quality.

\* \* \*

### THE NEW WOMAN

To the Editor of *Current History*:

To a feminist it was a pleasure to find your magazine devoting a symposium to the New Woman, though both Mr. Ludovici and the Rev. H. L. McMenamin, in their different ways, fail to understand the historical significance of the woman movement. But, thanks to the good judgment of the editors, that side is well brought out in the excellent articles of your other contributors, especially in that of Mrs. Catt, with her big point that suffrage is only one episode in a long-drawn-out battle for woman's freedom. However, the chief thing I wish to congratulate the editors upon is the broad outlook they display in the choice of divergent standpoints. After all, truth will prevail if all sides are fairly heard.

Cleveland, Ohio.

AMELIA DERHAM.

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Beginning with this issue, the grouping of the countries dealt with by the *Current History Associates* has been partly rearranged. Thus, Holland is now grouped with Germany and Austria, Spain with Italy and the Scandinavian countries with other northern European nations.



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# World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Annalist*

THE abundance of credit and its effect upon security markets continue to dominate the general economic situation in the United States. September, a month in which the necessity for moving the crops, coupled with the revival of activity in certain manufacturing industries, usually results in a considerable increase in the demand for commercial credit, has passed with commercial paper rates unchanged from the level of August. Time money rates, it is true, turned a bit firmer about the middle of the month, but the increase in rates was much less than the usual seasonal rise. The causes of this extraordinary situation at this time of the year are summarized by the monthly review of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York as follows: (1) A smaller demand for currency because of slightly less activity in industry; (2) net gold imports in each month of the year up to September; (3) an increase in holdings of securities by the Reserve banks; (4) lower Federal Reserve discount rates.

Judging by the few business indicators for which data are available at this writing, the general slackness in industry which has been evident in varying degrees since last Spring became more pronounced in September than at any time since the Fall of 1924, when the country was recovering from the severe readjustment which reached its climax in the preceding Summer, with the country's output of steel ingots at 34 per cent. and of pig iron 31 per cent. below estimated normal. Since that time a moderately high degree of activity has been maintained in iron and steel, the most basic of our basic industries, by sustained demand from the oil, automobile and building industries and railroads.

More recently, however, the oil industry has been confronted with the fact that it has been expanding too rapidly, and with prices for crude oil, gasoline and other refinery products suffering from overproduction, the demand for oil country goods has been seriously affected. Simultaneously the railroads have reached the point in the huge task of rehabilitating their plant and equipment where less new equipment is required and they have consequently curtailed their purchases despite the fact that finished steel products are now selling at the lowest price level in many months. And although certain companies have shown tremendous increases in their sales, the automobile industry has been marketing far fewer cars in the aggregate this year than last. Only in the construction industry has the high degree of

activity of the last two years been maintained.

In view of these conditions, the continued moderately heavy output of iron and steel so far this year has been a cause for wonder among those who follow the situation closely, and the only logical explanation is that there has been an extraordinarily heavy demand for steel for miscellaneous manufacturing purposes. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the absence of the expected Autumn increase in business activity the rate of steel ingot production for September fell to 10 per cent. below estimated normal and that the rate of pig iron output declined to 5 per cent. below normal.

As pointed out in these columns last month, an extremely important factor in the credit situation has been the action of the Federal Reserve banks, first with respect to the lowering of their discount rates and then in "killing the cat dead" by putting money into the market through the purchase of Government securities. The discount rate of all twelve Reserve banks is now at the reduced figure of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the controversy over the right of the Federal Reserve Board to order the Chicago bank to reduce its rate against the wishes of its own officers and directors has subsided with the appointment to the Federal Reserve Board of Roy Archibald Young, formerly Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, to take the place of D. R. Crissinger, Governor of the board since 1923.

However, the Reserve authorities are still being subjected to sharp criticism in many quarters regarding the arbitrary measures which the Reserve banks have taken not only in lowering discount rates, but in increasing their open market purchases of Government securities. On Oct. 5 these holdings stood at \$504,873,000, as against \$306,335,000 on the corresponding date last year, and, with due allowance for seasonal factors, the average of the weekly amounts reported in September was the highest of any month since December, 1924. In that year the heavy purchase of Government securities met with general approval as a wise and necessary measure in bringing down interest rates, which had risen above 5 per cent., and in thus providing cheaper credit for industry, which had fallen into a state of depression.

Today a vastly different situation prevails. There is slackness in industry, but in no such degree as existed in 1924, and with many se-

Continued on Page xl



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curities selling at ridiculously inflated prices it is obvious, say the critics, that stock speculation needs to be curbed rather than encouraged.

The lengths to which stock speculation has been carried is illustrated by the monotonous regularity with which the weekly brokers' loans figures of the New York reporting member banks have risen to new high records for more than a month past; in the week ended Oct. 5 they increased \$90,000,000 to the huge total of \$3,306,000,000. A year ago the total was only \$2,809,000,000. The volume of trading on the New York Stock Exchange has again outstripped the quotation reporting capacity of the stock ticker, and on Oct. 4, the number of shares sold reached the highest total since March 30, 1926.

An opposing view is that recent Reserve policy has been dictated not only by a breadth of wisdom which encompasses the necessity for worldwide cooperation in the regulation of credit, but also by the necessity of keeping or regaining control of the domestic money market. If interest rates had been allowed to follow their usual seasonal course, it is said, the result would have been a still further increase in gold imports, on the undesirability of which there is general agreement.

In this connection it is important to note that whatever the theoretical merits of the controversy, there developed in September a gold export movement for the first time this year. Imports declined to a little more than \$1,500,000 and American banks shipped to other countries, mainly to Argentina, no less than \$24,000,000 in gold.

It is also to be observed that whereas during the first part of this year sterling was for the most part only slightly above the point at which gold would move to this country, the decline in interest rates here has helped to bring about a steady advance in sterling exchange, which on Oct. 4 rose to 4.86%, a new high. Another cause of the rise in sterling, which usually moves lower at this season, is the reduced amount of agricultural staples, particularly cotton, which we are exporting this year.

The upward movement in the exchanges of other countries also became more pronounced in September. German marks rose above par and belgas made new highs for the year. Swedish crowns were the highest since July, 1925. Fluctuations in lire and French francs were small, but both showed a tendency to rise with sterling. Spanish pesetas were the highest since May. In the Far East rupees rose to the highest since February, but Japanese yen declined nearly a cent.

There has been no great change in Euro-

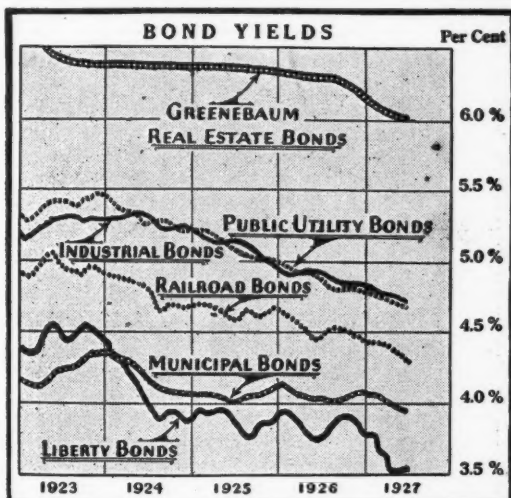
pean money markets, with the ease of credit at Paris and the stringency at Berlin still prevailing. On Oct. 4 the Reichsbank raised its discount rate from 6 to 7 per cent., the last previous change having been on June 10, when it was raised from 5 per cent. This action is considered of the utmost importance because of its bearing on the question of reparations payments, and although the move caused no surprise it came sooner than generally expected.

On account of the approach of the time when Germany will be required to pay the maximum amount of reparations under the terms of the Dawes Plan, and the repeated raising of the question of her capacity to meet these obligations, the real state of affairs in German trade and industry has received an unusual amount of discussion during the month. An added reason for this interest is the fact that a large amount of new German financing is being withheld from the securities markets following our State Department's disapproval of a proposed loan of \$30,000,000 to the Prussian State to be floated in New York.

Meanwhile, there seems to be a corresponding amount of confusion regarding Germany's internal trade outlook. The Prussian Trade Ministry, in its latest monthly report, was distinctly optimistic, as befitting a ministry trying to arrange a foreign loan; but the Official Institute for Studying Trade Fluctuations in a recent report categorically declares that the German trade boom has entered its last high-tension phase and that this will be followed by a crisis or by gradually increasing depression.

An exceedingly gloomy picture of the German industrial situation was also outlined recently by Dr. Duisberg, President of the National Association of German Industry. "Germany's deficit in foreign trade," he said, "amounted to 4,000,000,000 marks in 1925 and 1926. This year alone it will exceed that figure. The increase in business is not reflected in exports, as it should be, but is absorbed in the home markets. Our exports are still one-third less than before the war. The trade deficits have been balanced by foreign loans, but if this practice continues, Germany will soon be in a critical financial state."

Although the foregoing undoubtedly represents an extreme view of Germany's difficulties, the Reich's statistical bureau has also put forth a report which states that in the first half of the current year Germany's foreign liabilities were met only through an increase of 1,141,000,000 marks in short-term credits in foreign markets and through sacrifice of 928,000,000 marks of the Reichsbank's exchange reserve. The bureau apprehends a crisis in the matter of foreign exchange.



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